

INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

**University
Microfilms
International**

300 N. Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48106



8322130

Flintoft, Mary Luserna

LANDSCAPE OF DESIRE AND MENACE: A LITERARY STUDY OF
MEDIEVAL FRENCH GARDEN IMAGERY

University of Melbourne (Australia)

PH.D. 1982

University
Microfilms
International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1983

by

Flintoft, Mary Luserna

All Rights Reserved

LANDSCAPE OF DESIRE AND MENACE:

a literary study of medieval French garden imagery.

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
by
Mary Luserna Flintoft

Department of French
University of Melbourne
September 1981

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iii
Foreword	iv
Abbreviations	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: The Hermit's Garden	6
Chapter 2: The Monastery Garden	33
Chapter 3: The Castle Garden	60
Chapter 4: The Garden of Love, part 1	107
Chapter 5: The Garden of Love, part 2	137
Conclusion	170
Notes	176
Appendices: Trees and flowers	224
Automata, Hesdin and <u>Floire et Blancheflor</u>	263
Garlands	274
Horticultural Terms	278
Scent	283
Spices	286
Square	289
Bibliography	293

* * *

LANDSCAPE OF DESIRE AND MENACE: a literary study of Medieval French garden imagery.

ABSTRACT

By a philological analysis of garden imagery in a wide cross section of mainly thirteenth century French texts, various types of gardens make their appearance: the Hermit's Garden, the Monastery Garden, the Castle Garden and, most elusive of all, the Garden of Love. Each of these when examined in the light of literary interpretation and historical documentation illustrates part of the complex pattern of the artistry of medieval garden design. More importantly they cast light on the ambivalent attitude towards nature that is variously viewed in an erotic or Christian context.

The garden, nature perfected by man, could be assumed to be principally a place of delight, an example of the "locus amoenus". Instead, as texts are examined, it becomes clear that this is only partly true. Although such a "topos" may be the basis of later description, medieval authors used garden allegory to express the tensions inherent within the human condition. Gardens were both idealized and described as a reality of everyday life. The former shows the yearning of man for the perfect, the latter illustrates clearly the complexities of individual and social life.

The garden of the thirteenth century truly reflects a specific age and environment. More generally it mirrors eternal human conditions or problems. The aspirations of man are shown but also his situation when confronted with the day to day realities of hope, fear, love and other emotions and the specific problems of his time such as brigandry and social unrest.

All in all the garden in medieval literature provides an apparently accurate "thermometer" of man in relation to his immediate environment and to God and conversely is used by authors as an image, metaphor or allegory for man himself.

FOREWORD

The thesis uses a number of well known French texts but collates, correlates and analyses a large proportion of garden material heretofore apparently unanalysed or merely sketchily referred to. This is the first area of originality of the thesis; the second consists of drawing social and psychological conclusions from the material studied.

In the course of this thesis the editions in the series "Les Classiques Français du Moyen Age" have largely been used and these prove satisfactory as basic "textes d'étude". The Sommer edition of the Arthurian Prose Romance is outdated and lacks critical apparatus and annotations and Roach's edition of the Continuations of the Old French Perceval is inadequate due to the lack of clarity as regards references to the manuscripts and lines. A preferable approach would be to present the material in parallel texts.

It is obviously not possible, and perhaps not even desirable, to discuss every individual instance of garden imagery in medieval French literature: some references are obviously too short, too stereotyped or too marginal to be of any great interest. Others are merely extended "topoi" designed to fill gaps in the text and perhaps even space in the manuscript. By collating garden descriptions from thirteenth century literature and collating them into ordered chapters this thesis hopes to facilitate more detailed work by others.

As far as possible the M. L. A. Style Sheet and the standards of the French Department of the University of Melbourne have been used for the format of footnotes and bibliography. The bibliography is not exhaustive. Certain books and articles marked by an asterisk have not been consulted but may be of use to other students in this field.

I was greatly indebted (whilst an undergraduate) to the help and guidance of Dr. S. J. Scott who set me on the path to this thesis when I did a paper on the garden of the first part of the Roman de la Rose and who continued to support me

during the last years. I would also like to thank very specially my supervisor Dr. Ann Trindade for her endless patience. M. Pierre Grimal, Dr. C. J. Thornton Smith, Mr. Bill Cullican, Mme. Annie Calvert, Mr. Steve D'Arcy and Mr. Patrick Singleton have also provided great stimulus at times when this thesis seemed a long dark tunnel. My thanks go particularly to my family and to Inara Johnston who have helped in innumerable ways.

All faults are obviously my own.

* * *

ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS

<u>Cahiers de Civilization Médiévale</u>	<u>C. C. M.</u>
<u>Comparative Literature</u>	<u>C. L.</u>
<u>Convivium</u>	<u>Con.</u>
<u>Forum for Modern Language Studies</u>	<u>F. M. L. S.</u>
<u>French Review</u>	<u>F. R.</u>
<u>Germanische romanische Monatsschrift</u>	<u>G. r. M.</u>
<u>Medievalia et Humanistica</u>	<u>M. et H.</u>
<u>Medium Aevum</u>	<u>Med. Aev.</u>
<u>Modern Language Notes</u>	<u>M. L. N.</u>
<u>Modern Language Quarterly</u>	<u>M. L. Q.</u>
<u>Modern Language Review</u>	<u>M. L. R.</u>
<u>Modern Language Studies</u>	<u>M. L. A.</u>
<u>Modern Philology</u>	<u>M. P.</u>
<u>Monumenta Germanicae Historica</u> , Auctorum antiquissimorum tomi IV, pars prior. Bertolini apud Weidmannos 1888. editio nova lucis ope expressa 1961. recensuit et emendavit Fredericus Leo.	<u>M. G. H.</u>
<u>Moyen Age</u>	<u>M. A.</u>
<u>Neophilologus</u>	<u>N.</u>
<u>Periodicals of the Modern Language Association</u>	<u>P. M. L. A.</u>
<u>Revue des Langue Romanes</u>	<u>R. L. R.</u>
<u>Romance Notes</u>	<u>R. N.</u>
<u>Romania</u>	<u>Rom.</u>
<u>Romantic Review</u>	<u>R. R.</u>
<u>Speculum</u>	<u>Spec.</u>
<u>Studi Francesi</u>	<u>S. F.</u>
<u>Symposium</u>	<u>Sym.</u>
<u>Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie</u>	<u>Z. r. P.</u>

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOK TITLES

<u>Continuations of the Old French Perceval of Chrétien de Troyes.</u> Ed. William Roach. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, (1949) 1965.....	<u>C. O. F. P.</u>
<u>L'Estoire del Saint Graal</u>	<u>L'Estoire</u>
Gerbert de Montreuil. <u>La Continuation de Perceval.</u> Editée par Mary Williams. Class Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore' Champion, éditeur 1922.....	<u>Continuation</u>
<u>Patrologiae Cursus Completus.</u> Parisiis apud Garnier Freres, editores et J.-P. Migne Successores, 1879.....	<u>Migne P. L.</u>
Pliny. <u>Natural History.</u> Books I - XXXVII. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967 - 1971.....	<u>Pliny N.H.</u>
<u>La Queste del Saint Graal</u>	<u>Queste</u>
<u>The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romance.</u> Ed. H.O. Sommer. Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1908 - 1913.	<u>Sommer</u>

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to present the basis of a philological study of garden imagery in French medieval literature. Texts have been chosen to cover a range of genres: romance, Arthurian literature, a selection of poetry and chronicles. Occitan poetry is merely touched upon to highlight the "entry into the garden" opening. The period dealt with is mainly the thirteenth century although some earlier texts are mentioned where they are relevant.

It is essential to clarify the method used. The thesis will follow philological lines in a broad sense: a study of garden imagery including literary criticism and interpretation, also the relationship between literary works and historical documents. For this reason mention will be made of Hesdin and the works of Pietro de' Crescenzi and Albert the Great. Such records help to make a connection between actual medieval gardens and their representation in literature.

Garden imagery and description will be considered as it was used by various authors, sometimes underpinned by erotic or Christian symbolism. The form and function of garden descriptions within the texts will be studied: that is to say their characteristics and their importance within the plot. Imagery in garden description is both universal and particular. Universal imagery is made up of structural elements and thus implies a thematic study of the impact of forms and clusters of images. These can be correlated or in opposition, for example square/circle, in/out, inclusion/exclusion, high/low, defined/undefined space. Particular imagery concerns the precise function of the garden within a set text. Sometimes particular imagery throws light on the state of mind of the protagonist and may furthermore have a didactic importance. Landscape was used in the thirteenth century to describe human emotions as intensely as it is now although with less self-consciousness. In many cases the garden, whether deliberately or not, represents a pre-freudian approach to emotions or character.

Attention will be paid not only to the formal constituents of garden

descriptions but to their function within the text. This is the reason why a broadly philological approach has been adopted. There are many approaches currently in vogue in medieval studies; sociological, archetypal, psychological, etc. Many of these are too narrow and doctrinaire to be suitable for such a wide range of material. Further study would be needed to examine the sources of garden literature in general and analyse why and how these sources were used.

Authors such as Grimal have pointed to the relationship between literary and historical gardens but have concentrated on the historical aspect. Planche has written articles on certain plants in literature but has not dealt with gardens as such. J. D. Robertson Jnr. has made scholarly contributions to the appreciation of gardens in literature but concentrates on the irony that he sees everywhere in their treatment. Pearsall and Salter have studied the close link between gardens in literature and in art. Furthermore the history of gardens has been examined by such authors as Gothein, Hyams and Masson. But there are areas of interest as yet untreated by any of these or other studies. First, there appears to be no overall study of medieval gardens except for the very general work of Crisp which does however include a comprehensive collection of illustrations. Furthermore little or nothing has been written on either the Hermit's or the Monastery Garden despite their literary and historical importance. In addition to focussing on these specific areas as yet untreated, this thesis will present a large number of parallel texts for analysis and comparison in the hope that they may facilitate further study in this important area.

Justification needs to be made of such a wide approach. It has the advantage of treating hitherto unstudied gardens in as open a manner as possible. The text remains although theories change. Method, according to Henri Poincaré is "le choix des faits".¹ In this broad sense the study of gardens in literature involves three aspects: a textual choice, a study of ideal types and models within the context of the "realia" of gardens, also the interpretation of such data. The initial analysis of texts is long, but rewarding when fragments form a "noeud" or pattern of imagery as valid now as it was seven hundred years ago.

This is not to say that medieval thought was unambiguous: part of its intrinsic beauty lies in the variety of interpretations that are validly applicable.

There are certain important questions on which we need to focus. What were actual gardens like? How were they considered and what symbolism was attached? How was society or the individual represented in this context? How were they used in literature and with what aesthetic or psychological implications? These are questions to be discussed in the following chapters.

The philological method used appears to be that most suitable to study garden literature representative of an extensive historical period. It enables one to stay close to the facts viewed within their context whilst allowing for a modern perspective. It goes beyond a "yes - "no" answer to a rational clarification of texts.² A philological approach enables a link to be made between descriptions and the history of gardens. Historical as well as literary perspective is important in this field but the pitfalls are numerous. Lionello Puppi writes: "A discussion of the garden that is solidly grounded and not merely general requires the establishment of precise working methods and the rigorous limitation of the historical areas under investigation, so as to avoid either a preoccupation with discovering and reconstructing universal types, absolute and unvarying, produced by dead-end situations, or, worse, a description of undifferentiated facts unified on the presumption of an unchanging need."³ Puppi is writing as a garden historian but his comments are relevant to the present purpose. Literary description as proof of what a garden was actually like must also be used with prudence because it is enriched by the imagination. An author chooses elements, juxtaposes them and combines them. Some of these elements may come from the real world, some from his literary heritage. The two sources of inspiration at times overlap. A further complication to a study such as this is that landscape descriptions must be taken into account to the extent that they were influenced by the garden, for garden art influenced much landscape that was not overtly called a garden. Grimal in his Jardins romains concludes: "L'art des jardins compose des paysages."⁴

There was also a reciprocal influence between gardens and literature, and in fact all the arts. Literary texts borrowed details from contemporary medieval gardens. Art is inspired not only by art but also by the real world, that is to say by the social conditions and by the actual nature of the gardens of the writers' time. A later example of this is the way in which Italian landscape influenced the eighteenth century French school of painting and how this, in turn, gave rise to the English romantic garden with its artificially created ruins. This same interaction of the arts and the real world, although until now less clearly acknowledged, took place from Classical times onward. It can be understood more clearly if use is made of historical documents and if these are associated with literary testimony.

Inherent in the title of this thesis lies the ambiguity of the garden itself and its opposition to what is outside it. At times garden descriptions are escapist. At other times they are decorative or realistic. Sometimes descriptions are "topoi", sometimes there are variations that highlight social conditions such as the status of the "vilain" or women. A fundamental question is how the description works and why.

Chapters will be devoted to various types of gardens described in texts in order to pin-point the particular tensions that they represent, the solutions to such tensions that they offer or at least the balance of opposing pressures that they illustrate.

In chapter one on the Hermit's Garden the contrast appears between even a simple vegetable patch and a principally hostile outside world, often a wasteland. The Hermit's Garden is a midpoint, a link between civilization and an unknown that is generally menacing. This unknown can consist of forces of nature antagonistic to man, or an aberration of mind and body. The Hermit's Garden is a medieval version of the Golden Age tradition linking man not only to man but to God.

The Monastery Garden, chapter two, discusses the budding social significance of the garden as a retreat and place of healing, notions which imply conflict within the social world. Those parts dealing the the Cemetery Garden and the

Mary Garden suggest that the garden is both a place of death and rebirth and also a "topos" in literature where the multivalence of medieval literature is visible.

Chapter three concentrates on the beauty and variety of the Castle Garden coupled with its status in literature as a place of mental or physical anguish, for instance the joust-yard was at best a "de facto" court of law. This chapter develops the theory of the garden as a symbolic setting for social conflict.

The Garden of Love dealt with in chapters four and five highlights the extremely complex attitude towards love during the middle ages. The garden becomes a form of Heaven and Hell, or a Heaven that can be lost by an action.

The conclusion, by correlating themes from the previous chapters, illustrates the use that medieval authors have made of landscape and more precisely of gardens as the scenario for encounters of tension within the individual, within society or within the cosmos.

CHAPTER I THE HERMIT'S GARDEN

The term "garden" was originally used for any enclosure which developed into an area devoted to the cultivation of flowers, fruit and vegetables. The O.Sax., "gardo" is cognate with A.S., "geard", whence E., "yard"; so "yard", "orchard" and "garden" spring from the same source. In the word "orchard" the first element is a borrowing from the L., "hortus". Skeat considers the development of "ort", A.S., "wyr̥t", Dan., "urt", Swed., "ört", a "wort: as "incredible (...) and now generally abandoned"; for the transition would necessarily have antedated A.D. 900. "Garden" coming from the Teutonic type "*gardoz", Indogermanic type "*ghortus", a yard, court, enclosure, shares as a common root the word "gird", to enclose as do also "curtain", "cohort" and "court".¹

The etymology of the word helps see how a garden was originally understood: a particular type of enclosure where nature was dominated and the beautiful chosen and isolated. Nature was perfected by man, often according to the dictum "ars celat artem". As the highest form of agriculture it is a place where utilitarian and spiritual needs coincide. It is a place of work, a place of refuge.

Gardens are an integral part of the eremitical movement, for the hermit had to be self-sufficient, to rely on the natural bounty of the earth and his own toil. Chaucer in Boethius (Book II, Prose V, Meter V) wrote: "Blisful was the first age of man! They helden him apayed with the metes that the trewe felds broughten forth". Eremitism, when it penetrated into Europe during the decline of the Roman Empire, was a slightly diluted form of Eastern mysticism. In the East the Desert Fathers held the garden to be necessary, but at times they considered that to work in the garden was a falling away from the perfection of a contemplative life.² In the West eremiticism seems to have grafted itself very naturally onto two traditions.

The first was that of the Golden Age as sung by Hesiod in Works and Days, by Ovid in Metamorphoses, Book I and by Virgil in the fourth Eclogue, a poem interpreted as a prophecy of the Messiah's advent that looks forward to a rebirth of the world rather than backward to "illud tempus" when creation was young. The second tradition onto which the eremitical movement grew was the yearning that every civilization seems to have had for the simple country life. The Romans had it certainly, and poets from Horace³ onwards have praised the joys of dwelling far from the turmoil of the city and enjoying that most Roman of all virtues, "otium".⁴ This is not mere idleness but a concentrated use of leisure closely akin to the Christian or Eastern forms of meditation. It is related to external peace, to a relaxed body and a disciplined mind, all of which the hermit sought to achieve.

* * *

The European hermit was not only a saintly man searching for closer union with God through communion with nature, but, like the Romans earlier, he was often a member of the landed gentry who carved himself out a sanctuary in the wilderness, there to find peace and escape political dissention. But whatever his background he took to the letter the words of Christ: "Take neither gold, nor silver, nor a change of garment". In his imitation of Christly simplicity and one-ness with nature he at times reached the ecstasy of St. Francis in his Canticle of Brother Sun:

All praise be yours, my Lord, through Sister Earth, our mother,
Who feeds us in her sovereignty and produces
Various fruits with coloured flowers and herbs.

Unfortunately no detailed description of a hermit's garden written by a hermit exists; there is no equivalent to Walafrid Strabo's Hortulus. One has to glean what is possible from isolated lines in longer poems. However the song of St. Francis helps one understand not only the attitude of hermits towards their gardens but also the respect that the world had for these men.

* * *

The hermit's garden can be described as in the "middle distance" in

the sense that it is "the part midway between the foreground and the remote region".⁵ The remote region is the wilderness of forest or heath, a twilight zone feared both in literature and in real life until modern times. In popular imagination it was inhabited by fearsome creatures of the otherworld, ogres, giants and their like.⁶ In reality it was peopled by "boiselleurs" who lived off the land, hunting, burning charcoal and collecting honey and such wild fruit as they could find.⁷ Contemporary texts call them "bigres" proof that they were considered foreign, of ill repute and in general held suspect by settled folk.⁸ Furthermore in the forests brigandry was a grim reality.

Forests were hardly less dangerous than they were made out to be in literature. Even after the massive land clearance that transformed the face of Europe between 1050 and 1250, forests covered a far larger area than today and seriously hindered communications.⁹ They were not composed of large trees, as the man-made forests of modern Europe, but of a vast, virtually impenetrable, tangle of undergrowth. They were a sanctuary for bears, and wolves as late as the fifteenth century and a memory of the fear that they engendered is present even today.¹⁰

If the forest is considered as the background, the foreground consists of a brightly-lit, inhabited zone: a bustling city, a crowded castle, the gardens of monastery, castle or town, or even the symbol-laden "hortus conclusus". Such places are intimate, defined settings for events although this does not imply that the foreground is without menace for often it too was a place of danger or trial.

Between foreground and background lies the hermitage. It is a mid-point, with the hermit as intermediary between two zones. The hermit's role can be divided up into social and religious aspects. From the social point of view the hermits were healers and new settlers, and there was a link between the hermitage and "courtoisie". These three points throw practical light on the hermitage garden, on what was grown there when land was reclaimed and how the

new cultivation was responded to by the passing knight. The hermitage was an oasis surrounded by forest, a stepping-stone between wilderness and civilization and above all a sanctuary. From the religious point of view the hermitage represents a Christianized return to the Golden Age. It is also a link between God and man and bridges the gap between Earth and the Celestial Paradise.

In L'Estoire de Merlin Gauvain and Eliezor rescue a knight and damsel who have been set upon in the forest by brigands.¹¹ The rescued couple are taken to a nearby hermitage for rest and safety. In the Livre de Lancelot Brandus des Illes, defeated by the hero, begs for asylum in a hermitage rather than imprisonment at the Doloreuse Garde.¹² Imprisonment at the castle would have amounted to a living death whereas life in a hermitage, although it involved abnegation, did not necessarily entail total lack of freedom. For Brandus the hermitage was a place of security¹³ rather than one of humiliation and punishment.

In Gerbert de Montreuil's Continuation one of the strangest episodes is that of the Maiden in the Fountain. Perceval, in his wanderings comes upon a wide, grassy valley with a fountain that is both "clere et saine".¹⁴ Dyonise de Galoce stands naked immersed in the icy water, punished by her lover for having boasted that Perceval was the most valiant knight in Christendom. Perceval rescues her but is rewarded only by treachery.

Shortly afterwards Perceval spends the night with two hermits. A contrast seems deliberately drawn between the episode of the hermitage and that of Dyonise. Dyonise, with her loose, flowing hair, was described as a wonder of earthly beauty and she resembles a figure of "luxuria" both in appearance and in action. The setting of fountain, tree and grassy valley has, furthermore, paradisiacal associations that are supported by the introduction of the theme of false security.¹⁵ Such associations vanish almost before they take form, wiped out by the picture of the hermitage where Perceval can rest in safety as he had not been able to do with Dyonise.

The hermitage is a little world far removed from voluptuousness, and spartan ethics are emphasized by the simple fare. The Continuation bears out the fact that it is a mid-point on the journey back to civilization for the following night Perceval is again in society, warmly entertained by a "preudom" whose manor, with its mounting-block in the courtyard shaded by an aspen, has the trappings of a handsome dwelling.

An earlier episode from the Continuation confirms the fact that the hermitage was a place of sanctuary between adventures. Perceval, in his quest to discover the meaning of the Grail symbols, comes to a forest, the home of a hermit. The loneliness of the place is stressed: the hermit has lived isolated ".c. ans et plus", and in the vicinity are only ruins of once noble castles and manors, "tous sont gaste, les gens fuies".¹⁶ In this desolation the hermitage is a solitary outpost on the way of no return,¹⁷ the only place where Perceval can find lodging for the night for all the other inhabitants have fled the country, unable to bear the "grans dolor".

After a frugal meal Perceval goes to rest "sor feuchere et sor erbe fresche",¹⁸ bedding that would have been gathered close by if not within the hermitage enclosure. It is the softest couch that the hermit can make but there is neither pillow nor coverlet.¹⁹ Nonetheless the relative comfort of the refuge is made clear the next day when Perceval, against the advice of the hermit, insists on taking:

une estroite voie,
plaine d'espines et de ronces
qui molt li faisoient angoisses.²⁰

Thorns and brambles border the strait way, symbols of difficult access, of the "perilous passage", as well as quite literally, of physical pain. Christ himself was crowned with thorns. Perceval's quest, the story of his initiation through labyrinthine adventures, now continues. The hermitage, self-contained almost womb-like, was the sanctuary where he could regain physical and spiritual strength.

During the middle ages hermits were held in great esteem as healers of

both body and soul. They cultivated medicinal herbs some of which were possibly imported species. An episode in the Vitae Patrum²¹ tells of St. Martius of Auvergne who isolated himself from society and hewed a little cell out of the mountainside. Around him a community gathered who cultivated the desert and made a garden and orchard. Gregory of Tours writes that his father visited St. Martius and was cured of an illness.

Literature supports the association of health and sanctity which are opposed to the wasteland and evil. In L'Estoire de Merlin Bohort endows a hospital run by a holy man. It stands on the site of a battlefield and so, as a house of healing, it turns a place of destruction into a place of rejuvenation.²² Frequently knights visit hermitages to have their wounds cared for,²³ and generally the hermit heals not only with herbs but also by invoking the power of God or the Trinity.²⁴ Generally when knights are healed in a hermitage the healing is accompanied by prayer or a little moral lesson.²⁵

The story of Carados in the C. O. F. P. gives an example of the healing powers of hermits. Carados is dying because a serpent has fastened itself to his arm and is choking life out of him. A serpent can represent two diametrically opposed ideas: spiritual rebirth because it sloughs its worn out skin, or "the earth-creeping attitude of materialism".²⁶ Here it bears mute testimony to the worldly sin of revenge that Carados committed against his magician father, Elïavrés. Vice is frequently linked to sickness, hence the words of Christ: "Arise, take up thy bed, thy sins are forgiven thee".²⁷ Carados is a taboo figure bearing the mark of physical and moral degradation. Wise men summoned from throughout the whole world are unable to help him with their concoctions of roots and herbs.²⁸ Carados is tortured by the idea that his love, Guigniër will be repulsed by his present state and in desperation he escapes from his lodging by breaking a hole in the garden wall: "Lors ont crevé / Le mur un poi, s'en issent fors".²⁹ A more picturesque and dramatic version gives the variant: "Mais tote nuit ont fait pertuis".³⁰

The idea of breaking out of a garden is interesting for time and again emphasis is placed on gaining access to it.³¹ Carados flees society, here represented by the garden in all its ambiguity. Society is the source of Carados' illness and he voluntarily ostracizes himself in search of healing.

After travelling seven or eight leagues through a forest Carados finds the isolated dwelling of a holy man whose sanctity is attested by his power over animals.³² Here Carados shares the spartan diet of the hermitage and leads a life of penance as if every day were a day of Lent. Sometimes the hermit procures better fare for Carados from a nearby hostelry for the knight is unused to the "si tres aspre vie".³³ We are not specifically told what medicines are given to Carados but we hear that the holy life gladdened him, "Sa sainte vie li plaisoit",³⁴ and evidently the stringent regime suited him for afterwards his mother is amazed to hear that he is still alive. Nonetheless the poem states bluntly: "Molt li est changie pasture",³⁵ but this change of pasture is the first step towards his recovery.

Eventually Carados reaches another hermitage where he is taken in while his faithful friend, Cador, goes in search of Guignier:

O les hermites l'a laissié
En l'ermitage ens el plaissié.³⁶
Si lor prie quel gardent bien.

The hermits evidently raise a variety of plants for Cador asks them to give Carados all he needs and promises that they will be well rewarded. This is a rare reference that hints at a financial reward offered to anchorites for their hospitality.³⁷ Earlier it is said that Carados took with him all the "avoir" brought from England when he exiled himself from society, but throughout the long, detailed poem there is no mention of money passing into the hands of hermits.

The hermitage is not only a practical concern but also a place of beauty:

s'i ot une eglise
Petitete, mais molt ert bele,
Sor le dois d'une fonte(ne)le
Qui coroit par une valee.³⁸

The motif of a well-watered valley occurs frequently in medieval descriptions, often with associations of "a promised land".³⁹ In this case our expectations are fulfilled. The hermitage is the setting where Carados is made whole and at one with the world. Carados and Guigni'er get into two baths, his of vinegar, hers of milk. Guigni'er heroically offers her body to the serpent, luring it to her with words a lover might use. She offers it her breast which, she says, is fairer than the hawthorn flower. The hawthorn flower, like the fleur de lis, is a symbol of whiteness⁴⁰ and also a symbol of youth or Spring.⁴¹ Meanwhile the hermits assemble to pray and to recite the Mass of the Holy Spirit. It is a visually magnificent scene, rich with ritual and symbolism. Guigni'er is a new Eve, and, through the intercession of the hermits, she is filled with the Holy Ghost. The serpent leaps to her breast and is killed. Carados, ill-kempt, emaciated, hoarse of voice, with knotted hair hanging over his nose and beard covering his chest, is rather like a figure in a Hieronmous Bosch Hell. But now that the serpent has left him, he is born again. He is bathed, combed, shaved and dressed in new clothes. King Arthur, his uncle, arrives on the scene and, midst great rejoicing, Carados is reintegrated into society. The hermitage, therefore, was a place of both bodily and spiritual healing.

* * *

Another facet of the social influence of hermits is that they earned a place in the history of the middle ages as new settlers. They left society and went as pilgrims to new lands which they transformed into gardens. To gain some perspective into this phenomenon it is necessary to glance briefly at the social and political environment of the period. A cultural upsurge began in France in the twelfth century which reached a crest in the thirteenth century, visible in the arts, in an increase of trade and in the revival of self government. The monarch's power increased and seignorial anarchy waned.

Bloch considers that this flowering was made possible by an increase in population and he quotes Lot who calculated the population of the present

area of France in 1382 as between twenty-one and twenty-two million inhabitants.⁴² This population explosion engendered new developments including land clearance and the creation of new towns to which settlers were encouraged by being freed from serfdom.⁴³

The hermit was not attracted by a charter of liberty but by a need for solitude. In the thirteenth century, both in castles and in monasteries, living was rather cheek by jowl. One need only think of the sleeping arrangements in Bérroul's Tristan where the hero could leap from his bed into that of Iseut, or remember that in monasteries monks slept in dormitories and dined on trestle tables sitting on benches rather than chairs. This promiscuity explains to some extent the vogue for men to serve God as hermits. Others became recluses or took to an errant life; at least such people were assured of privacy.

But the idea of "peregrinatio" or exile from home, family and community, in order to seek "the place of one's resurrection"⁴⁴ is basic to Christianity: Christ himself spent forty days in the Wilderness. "Pilgrimage", based on the Latin "per" and "ager" is a wandering over the countryside with no fixed destination. St. Brendan, in what has been described as a Christian odyssey, went to seek a Paradise in the Western Ocean. Such voyages actually happened. Chadwick mentions the ninth century story of three Irish monks who came to Cornwall in a currag covered with skins; they had no steering oar. The ideal was exile for the love of God, no matter where. Celtic crosses and croziers have been found in uninhabited Iceland: hermits went there not to convert, but as settlers.⁴⁵

Pilgrimage had as a negative aspect exile; its positive facet was rebirth through a symbolic casting off of the "old Adam". An example of this comes towards the end of the Queste, when Lancelot, confronted by a fearsome barrier of "l'ave qui ert parfonde et noir" is commanded by a divine voice to enter a strange boat "sanz voile et sanz aviron". But once aboard it seems to him that he is surrounded by all the wonderful scents of the world and has

tasted every good food that earthly man ever had. Physical well-being reflects spiritual health. "Et lors est cent tanz plus aeise que devant", for he feels that he possesses all that he has ever desired and wonders if he is on earth or "en paradis terrestre". Until this point, Lancelot has been blamed for his adulterous love of Guinevere; now he is reborn in chastity for he has the unique honour of being in charge of the "chaste pucele".⁴⁶

On a more practical level, the "peregrinatio"/rebirth phenomenon results in the cultivation of new land, "in the flowering of the desert".⁴⁷ We noticed earlier that St. Martius of Auvergne gathered about him a small group of men who transformed the wilderness into garden and orchard. Breton legend is filled with stories of the clearance of forest and wasteland and the cultivation of the soil. Gregory of Tours tells of a sixth century Breton holy man called John who made a garden beside his cell and used to sit reading and writing in the shade of trees that had grown tall. Even that forest, Brocéliande that in legend conjures up an image of fear and mystery, is turned into a sanctuary for in it lived a certain hermit, Saint Meon, a member of the Welsh royal family. He was joined by King Judicael of Domnonia, a north Breton province, and a great monastic house grew up around his cell and is referred to in a charter of Louis the Pious dated 816.

In literature the same phenomena of pilgrimage and land reclamation are evident. In the C. O. F. P. Carados, in search of bodily and spiritual health goes in quest of holy places. His pilgrimage was a form of penance for he lived only on wild herbs and fruit,⁴⁸ food less nourishing than that supplied by the hermitage garden, and became so thin that he was barely recognisable.⁴⁹ His pilgrimage ended in an "at-one-ness" with God and society: atonement was made in the setting of a well-watered valley with its hermitage and associations of the Promised Land.⁵⁰ In the Moniage Guillaume the hero, after many journeyings and vicissitudes, establishes and then rebuilds a garden in the wilds of Provence and so makes the desert fertile.

Other hermits are found in the depths of the forests where they have carved out for themselves gardens in the wilderness.⁵¹

* * *

Many literary descriptions of the hermitage are realistic in character and show what hermits' gardens were like. The C. O. F. P. describes the final scene of Carados' recovery as "En l'hermitage ens el plaissié", a hermitage set in a garden surrounded by a wattle or hurdle fence. Such simple enclosures were also used by peasants for their vegetable gardens, for thus they were able to fertilize efficiently the soil with animal and human dejections.⁵² In the Moniage Guillaume the hermitage was enclosed not only by a thick, thorn hedge but also by a ditch:

Le maisoncele ert bien clos en tous sens
De bone soif espinee forment,
Et un fossé i ot fait voirement.⁵³

One of the reasons for such an enclosure would be to permit as intensive a cultivation of the soil as possible and to prevent livestock from trampling the vegetables. Another reason for such fortifications was to protect the hermitage from the brigands who infested the countryside.⁵⁴ Given the opportunity they would steal the hermits' valuable animals and do worse things such as burning down the hermitage and assaulting its inmates.⁵⁵ Hermits were the frontiersmen of the middle ages and, as such, led hazardous lives.

* * *

Hermits also bridged the gap between East and West from the fifth century onwards when Eastern mysticism penetrated the Gaulish Church. St. Honoratus founded an anchorite movement on the island of Lérins after a visit to the East. On Lérins the men lived in separate cells as did the Desert Fathers⁵⁶ and contact with the East was generally strong during that period.⁵⁷ There is some proof that hermits cultivated new plants in France. Unfortunately it is very difficult to trace the introduction of new species or to date this occurrence with precision. Often the importation of a new plant can merely

be surmised from the fact that it is named at one period and not previously mentioned. However in one instance in the sixth century recorded by Gregory of Tours, Jewish or Syrian merchants brought to a certain Hospitius, a recluse who lived near Nice, plants from Egypt with which he nourished himself during Lent. The quotation is interesting: "Fuit autem urbem Nicensem eo tempore Hospitius reclausus magnae abstinentiae, qui constrictus catenis ad purum corpus fereis, induto de super cilicio, nihil aliud quam purum panem cum paucis dactylis comedebat. In diebus autem Quadragesimae, de radicibus herbarum Aegyptiarum, quibus eremitae utuntur, exhibentibus sibi negatiatoribus alebatur. Et primum jus in quo coxerunt hauriens, ipsas sumebat in posterum".⁵⁸

The food served in hermitages is a fair indication of what was grown in the gardens. Often it is of the very simplest: bread and water, bread and cider, even nettles and wild roots and berries.⁵⁹ In the Continuation Perceval is given a meal consisting of "pain d'orge a leschive pestri",⁶⁰ also:

erbe, laitues et cresson
i ot, et menu fruit salvage
qui fu coillis par le boschage.⁶¹

There is no wine, only water to drink. The horses have "fain" and "orge" in abundance. The inference is that in the gardens herbs, lettuce and cress were tended. Possibly the hay was cut from within the enclosure and also the barley.⁶² The wild fruits would have been picked from the woods close by, and these tamed woods by the hermitage would form an extension to the garden plot.

In another episode, from the Continuation Perceval's horse is again given hay and barley although Perceval fares better for the hermit kills a kid in his honour. It is the first time that the recluse has had meat in over a year.⁶³ Meat is in fact a rarity in hermitages for abstinence was part and parcel of a life of sanctity.⁶⁴ There is only water to drink and no condiments, neither pepper nor garlic. This is as expected: hermitages were self-sufficient and had no commerce with traders who supplied the highly

prized spices.

The mention of the kid raises the question of the size of hermitages. An episode in the C. O. F. P. tells of the visit that Perceval and his sister pay their hermit uncle. They arrive at evening and call out from the "guichet".⁶⁵ The enclosure must have been substantial for they loose their horses in the garden to graze:

Dedans la cort de cel herboi
Les chevaux la nuit pestre let.
Li prudom apoter lor vet
Orge et avoine tot ansemble.⁶⁶

The garden apparently consisted of grass, and herbs; wheat and the vine were cultivated⁶⁷ as well as hay and barley. The hut and chapel were enclosed within a protective wall for the hermit feared strangers.⁶⁸ The hermit's lodging was a "mesonete" and "petitete" with no room for Perceval and his sister for they sleep outside: "Et Percevaux la defors gist / Sus l'erbe vert lez sa seror".

Hermitages frequently grew the vine, however usually water is the drink of the hermit⁶⁹ for the connotations of wine are inappropriate to an ascetic and abstention from wine is part of a life of discipline.⁷⁰ Exceptionally cider is drunk in the hermitage. In the Moniage Guillaume Gaidon shares his food generously with his cousin:

Dona Guillaume de ce qu'il ot a vivre
A grant plenté, ainc n'i fist avarice;
Aighe bouilli a un poi de ferine,
Et pain de soile, et si burent del cidre,
Et puis mengierent de pumes de faines,⁷¹
Les melles bletes n'i oublierent mie.

Wheat, rye, cider apples and medlars were cultivated in this garden that is part orchard, part vegetable patch. The forest forms an extension of the garden for there wild fruits and beechnuts were gathered and the animals nourished.⁷²

* * *

From the inventory of food served at hermitages the garden appears of the simplest and most practical, and it is only in the Moniage Guillaume that a flower garden is described with various roses, lilies and the "flor

de glaie".⁷³ In general the garden appears to be large in size, however the hermit's abode is humble merely a variation of the cave. The cave is full of symbolism. It is the haunt of snake and dragon, a place where treasure is found, where mortals sleep one hundred years and then come forth. The cave is a dark place of retreat and fantasy.⁷⁴ Sages, heroes and saints retire there for meditation and renewal. The cave symbolizes a withdrawal from the world into oneself so that one can emerge with a fresh capacity for thoughts and deeds. It and the hermitage are, in fact, womb-like. From them man can issue forth born afresh or cured in mind and body.⁷⁵

* * *

The hermitage/cave concept leads to the final aspect of the social influence of the hermitage, namely its link with "courtoisie". In an article, interesting but full of conjecture, Bezzola has looked at the two distinct types of poetry written by Guillaume IX.⁷⁶ The author notes that at a certain stage Guillaume abandoned his earthly, rather misogynistic poetry that emphasized material forms of pleasure in favour of a more spiritual approach to love. Bezzola attributes Guillaume's fresh attitude of mind to the influence of an eremitical movement led by a Breton, Robert d'Arbrissel. Robert was an intense mystic and chose, against the advice of other prelates, the life of an anchorite. He was soon surrounded by fervent imitators who lived with him a simple life, cultivating the land and leading young followers towards an ascetic life. Robert d'Arbrissel later set up a monastery for men at Fons Evraldi (Fontevrault) with a nunnery adjoining it. The church was dedicated to the Virgin and Pétronille de Craon, the widow of the Baron de Chemillé, was placed in charge of both houses. Here is a historical example where the exaltation of women is linked to the eremitical movement.

Literature provides further examples of a bond between the hermitage and "courtoisie". The "joie" that can fill the visitor when he comes in contact with holy places is worthy of note. Gaston Paris has remarked that

"jolivete" has taken such an important place in Provençal poetry that "joi" ("gaug", "joi") is almost a synonym for poetry. For example the "leis del gai saber" are the "lais d'amour".⁷⁷ Yet "joie" with its adjuncts of Spring and youth is most times related to earthly love. However in poems such as Guillaume IX's Song IX, Mont jauzens me prenc en amar, the "joie" mentioned is for a spiritualized love, a supreme joy, unchangeable, indestructible because of the absence of physical desire.

A similar use of the word "joie" occurs in the C. O. F. P. where Gauvain tells King Arthur the story of his adventure with the Demoisele de Lis. Gauvain, weak and recovering from a wound, arms himself, mounts Gringalet and sets off across the countryside. He hears a hermitage bell "a destre del chemin".⁷⁸ Is this one of the cases in medieval literature where "destre" has moral connotations?⁷⁹ Gauvain is welcomed by the hermit who, after he has celebrated Mass, shares his humble fare with the visitor. The meal is frugal but we hear that had the hermit possessed white bread he would have offered that to Gauvain. The fact that the hermitage had its bell, presumably to ring at the Canonical hours, shows that the passing traveller was always welcome. Actually the hermitage was the medieval equivalent of a hostelry for hermits cared for the body and soul of the wayfarer without seeking financial reward.⁸⁰

Refreshed from his visit, Gauvain sets out again through the fresh morning woodland. This is how he describes his ride to King Arthur:

Si me remis lués au chemin.
 Si vos di bien qu'a cel matin
 Faisoit un jour issi tres cler
 C'ainc piús ne ains ne vi son per.
 Et la fores fu verdoians
 Et haute et bele et trop plaisans,
 Si oissiez par tot crïer
 Les oiseillons et cler chanter.
 Od le matin, od le verdor,
 Ot en la forest bone odor
 Qui me fist au cuer joie et bien.
 Por verté vos di une rien,
 C'ainc nus ne vit si bel boschage⁸¹
 Come avoit entor l'ermitage.

The elements of a beautiful morning, woodland like a garden, birdsong and

sweet scent are common to the "grand chant courtois", and the reader is not surprised that Gauvain's heart overflows with joy and well being. But this "joie" is linked to the prayerful visit Gauvain has made to the hermitage and to the Mass he has heard. It fills him with an urge to change his life, "de (sa) vie changier".⁸²

Ironically, this spiritual "joie" is short-lived and Gauvain's good intentions are put from his head in a few short hours. By midday he has come accross a wonderous pavilion and seduced, (with small difficulty), its fair occupant, the Demoisele de Lis. There are connotations of the Garden of Love in the setting of the flower-strewn bower beside a sweet translucent fountain. Sensuality is the keynote of this scene where the girl loses the name of "pucele" and becomes "amie" and "demoisele". Gauvain kisses her face "Qui plus ert blans que flor de lis".⁸³ His spiritual joy and good intentions are dispensed with as quickly as his armour:

Mon chief, sire, lués desarmai
Et fui toz issus del corage,
Sire, que j'ai en l'hermitage.⁸⁴

His earlier "joie" is at variance with this powerfully physical sensuality.

Another example of the "joie" motif linked to a hermitage occurs later in the C. O. F. P. where Gauvain is welcomed and fed one evening by a hermit.⁸⁵ Gauvain does not, in fact, sleep in the hermitage garden as had Perceval and his sister on another occasion.⁸⁶ He keeps on all his armour save his helmet for he is not totally within the precincts of safety. Yet the following morning when Gauvain leaves, he rides through a garden-like setting. He is one with nature hallowed by proximity to the hermitage and is filled with joy. Dew falls on him from the leaves of trees and the sun comes out and dries his body. He rejoices:

Por lou tans qui si biaux estoit,
Et por ce qu'il voit chanter
Les oiseillons si haut et cler
Qu'il iert avis que il parlissent
Et que leur amor racontassent
En leur latin tout en chantant.⁸⁷

The birds echo his joy and the songs that they sing in their own "latin"

form a fitting prelude to the meeting with the sister of the Petit Chevalier. Possibly Gauvain's joy before his meeting with the Demoisele de Lis was more spiritual than the feeling here described, but then the hero's elation was betrayed by his subsequent brutal sensuality. Here the joy springing from contact with a hallowed garden is assimilated to the dawning of love, to the meeting with the maiden in a valley rich with the garden motifs of tree and fountain.⁸⁸ Through its association with "joie" the hermitage again appears in the middle distance, a link between a shadowy world and the more clearly lighted Garden of Love, a "cave" that leads to a rebirth of "courtoisie".

* * *

In medieval descriptions of the hermitage, another feature to be noted is that it is an intermediate state between God and man, or more generally between a shadowy threatening otherworld and civilization.

Broadly speaking this motif is linked to the well-known folklore theme of "The Wild Man of the Middle Ages" described in Welsh, Irish and Scottish tales and perhaps of Celtic origin. It appears to be founded on the idea that certain people, unworthy to undergo punishment for their sins amongst their fellow kind, are doomed to a life of expiation in the wilds. Loomis mentions a fourteenth century ms. that tells of a certain Lailokin, said by some to be Merlin, who was the cause of a battle in which many were slain. It was therefore announced "that he would have the abode among the beasts of the forest until the day of his death".⁸⁹ A Welsh Myrddin poem, the Afallenau (Appletrees) from the Black Book of Carmarthen describes the outlawry and madness suffered by Myrddin (Merlin) in the Forest of Celyddon after a battle. He has suffered there "ten and forty years" and compares his present state to his former enjoyment of wealth and women. His only hope is for death and a happier after life.⁹⁰ In other legends the wild man lives in trees and turns into a flying creature or levitates when asked to descend, a phenomenon with a possible link to the episode of the child in the tree in the C. O. F. P.⁹¹ There Perceval asks the child who holds an apple, a fruit associated in Celtic

tales both with invisibility and with Merlin, to come down but instead the child, after telling the hero to go to the Dolorous Mount, climbs to the top of the tree and disappears.⁹² In the Celtic story the wild man is called Suibne and is, according to Loomis, in some ways a counterpart in the Irish legend⁹³ to Merlin. Geoffrey of Monmouth also mentions how Merlin lost his reason and fled into the forest. On becoming mad Suibne hides in a yew tree, a tree associated both with invisibility and evil in other situations.⁹⁴

In French literature madness is also associated with the return to a wild state. Chaos of the mind, naturally not described in psychological terms, is made "visual" in the landscape. For example in Chrétien's Chevalier au Lion, we have, as A. L. C. Brown has shown, an attenuated version of the theme of unfaithfulness to a fairy wife or mistress that causes madness in the hero.⁹⁵ Yvain breaks his promise to Laudine and fails to return to her within the appointed period of three years. A girl rides up to him, calls him a thief and hypocrite and snatches from him the ring of fidelity, a gift to him from Laudine. He leaves court and wanders in the forest.⁹⁶ Yvain turned wildman is indirectly contrasted to the other wildman, guardian of wild bulls. Withdrawal from court reflects a withdrawal from his own self. In Laudine we have exemplified the myth of woman as a means of salvation: with her Yvain had found his being, when he loses her he loses himself, is full of self-loathing and longs for his own destruction just as did Myrddin. The link between forest and folly is strong with the forest, the opposite of cultivated land or the court circle, representing a sort of "Urwelt". At this point of the story, there is an element of initiation, a hint of death and rebirth. The hero has to pass through the test of chaos to come forth into a new status. A whirlwind fills Yvain's head driving him mad. He strips naked and lives among the animals as did Lailokin, eating raw flesh. This regression to a primitive existence is halted only by his visit to the hermit who leads him partially back to society. The hermit offers him bread which, though musty, is a symbol of civilization. After this contact Yvain

is healed of his remorse by Dame Noroison. A schema of Yvain's trial is as follows: Like Myrddin he loses his love, plumbs the depths of despair, is raised up by the hermit and finally reinstated by a woman. A broken taboo is atoned for. In the forest Yvain has undergone something akin to an initiation which, as Eliade has pointed out, is never "familiale" or "civique" but takes place in the forest or undergrowth.⁹⁷ The hermit is a witness to this casting aside of the old self and he is the first to set Yvain on his path back towards court.

A further description of madness, from Amadas et Ydoine, clarifies the role of the hermit. The setting is not the wilderness but a well-described medieval city. Amadas, distraught at the idea that he has lost Ydoine, runs dishevelled through the streets, pelted by the populace, assaulted by the stares of the burghers. At night he sleeps like a beast in a "gaste" and tomb-like cave that seems to represent a symbolic death. Eventually he is made whole again by something akin to prayer, by the power of the name. Ydoine visits him and performs a sort of incantation: "Nomme Amadas, Ydoine aprés".⁹⁸ This is likened to a litany although the author warns against too specific a comparison. Nonetheless an association to prayer and mediation is apparent and there is a parallel between the cave and the hermitage. Normally it is the hermit who exercises the powers used by Ydoine while the expected setting for rebirth is the enclosure of the hermitage, the "cave" which opens out onto a new life.

* * *

The safety of the hermitage, as already noted, is in contrast to the menace of the wilderness but in a more specific way the womb-like, regenerating hermitage is opposed to the wasteland of evil.⁹⁹ In Chrétien's beginning to the story of Perceval it is stressed that the country about the manor where he lived was a "gaste pays". As the tale unfolds in the C. O. F. P. the wasteland motif is associated with Perceval's inability to solve the Grail mystery and with the sin he committed against his mother. As Eliade noted,

a crime is a sacrilege with consequences at all levels of life for blood shed poisons the earth and leads to barrenness.¹⁰⁰ Often the wasteland is associated with evil. Thus in the Continuation before Perceval's final visit to the Grail Castle he passes through a wasted forest totally uninhabited save for a hermit who has lived on his own for over a century. From here Perceval takes the strait way overgrown with brambles and thorns that seem to represent self-discipline¹⁰¹ and he successfully battles with the devil who had laid waste all the land and burnt even the leaves on the trees.

In the C. O. F. P., the hero returning home rides through a wasteland. To his amazement he sees a tree in full leaf:

Devant lui garde, s'a veu
 Un bel arbre grant et plenier:
 Perceval tint coi son destrier,
 Un seul petit s'est por pansez.
 Dieu fait il, ou suis ge asenez.
 Je cuit pres dou manoir ma mere.¹⁰²

The splendid tree that makes Perceval draw rein is a sign that forgiveness for his failings is near. In fact Perceval is soon reunited with his family. After the recognition scene with his sister the two go to rejoice outside in a garden that lies exactly where earlier his mother had swooned away: "Si vont ansamble esbenoier / Au pié dou pont an un vergier".¹⁰³ Nature tamed covers the place of Perceval's sin. Final atonement, however, is made only after Perceval and his sister have visited their hermit uncle and honoured his vow of silence after sunset. At one with a benevolent nature, Perceval sleeps outside in the garden: "Et Percevaux la defors gist / Sus l'erbe vert lez sa seror".¹⁰⁴ At the hermitage Perceval achieves stature and forgiveness and from this point onwards the episodes form a prelude to his final visits to the Grail Castle. The hermitage is the intermediate setting between the "gaste pays" and the castle with its mysteries, the wasteland has given place to a hallowed garden.

* * *

Literature reflects the fact that the eremitical movement had something in common with the Golden Age. Even when the hermitage was used as an inn or

a hospital, money is conspicuous only by its absence. The words of Tibullus apply aptly to these ascetics: "Wealth let others gather for themselves in yellow gold and acquire great acres of cultivated land - (...) But let my general poverty transfer me to inaction so long as fire glows always in my hearth".¹⁰⁵ Even when on one occasion Perceval is hosted by a hermit king the life style is of the simplest. The guest sleeps on a hard but fragrant bed "D'erbe fresche et de fain novel".¹⁰⁶ Furthermore the diet of these anchorites implies an era of spontaneous abundance. In the Continuation Perceval is welcomed by a hermit, Heracle, who has lived to the prodigious age of one hundred years, a figure that conjures up the long life span of certain Old Testament prophets.¹⁰⁷ Little is known of Heracle except that he eats "Pomes salvages et faine / Et glant que quelt par la gaudine".¹⁰⁸ The notion of apples, beechnuts and acorns picked from a small wood is reminiscent of the Aurea Aetas in the first book of Ovid's Metamorphoses. In another episode of the Continuation Gauvain rests at a hermitage after his battle with Urpin and eats an equally simple meal of acorns and juniper berries.¹⁰⁹ In the Continuation a contrast is implied between Gauvain's previous battle and the peace of the hermitage. Acorns are an important element in these descriptions of simple vegetarian meals. The oak tree retains something of its pre-Christian importance and also, endowed with religious connotations, it represents a simple life devoid of "luxuria".¹¹⁰ The C. O. F. P. offers further examples of the similarity of hermitages to the familiar landscape of the Golden Age. For instance Perceval spends the night at a hermitage close to an oak tree and wood and, we are told, "Pain d'orge et herbetes et fruit / Li saint hermites li dona".¹¹¹ Medieval descriptions frequently disappoint with the use of such generic terms as "herbetes" and "fruit", nonetheless such brief passages are evocative of Hesiod:

All goods
were theirs. The fruitful grainland
yielded its harvest to them
of its own accord; this was great and abundant,

while they at their pleasure
quietly looked after their works,
in the midst of good things
prosperous in flocks, on friendly terms¹¹²
with the blessed immortels.

The hermitage appears often to be within a "time" that Eliade describes as "auroral et paradisiaque"¹¹³ and which is characterized by absolute liberty at all levels of creation. Hermits live, apparently unscathed for a century or more.

In that "illud tempus" of the hermitage, a timeless zone rarely encroached upon by the historical constraints of society, man lived in harmony with the animals and meat is in general absent from his diet. In the Moniage Guillaume the hero comes upon the dwellings of hermits who, in a secluded valley, created a kind of Golden Age paradise with their homes, livestock and little kitchen gardens:

Et lor bestailles avoient voirement
Lor cortisians, lor edifiement;
La se garissent et vivent saintement.¹¹⁴

Proof of their holiness seems to lie in their harmonious coexistence with animals. Now tamed animals or rather men living at peace with the beasts is an almost universal belief bearing testimony to a state of perfection. Such a motif is used by Hesiod in his description of the Golden Age. It occurs also in Genesis where God brought the animals to Adam to be named,¹¹⁵ for to name an object is tantamount to having dominion over it. The land of Prester John, traditionally associated with Eden, was characterised, according to legend, by "animali pieni de mansuetudine". The Muslim Paradise contains various animals, amongst them the Prophet's camel and Christ's donkey. In other traditions one even comes across fishes supposed to sing the Canonical hours.¹¹⁶ This same motif is evidenced in the legends that have grown up around St. Francis. It can also be seen in the description of the hermit visited by Carados wounded by the serpent. We are told that the hermit was "de grant merite",¹¹⁷ and as proof of his sanctity we hear that the animals of the forest gathered about him:

Sauvages bestes, grans petites
 Veissiez souvent assembler;
 Merveilles vos porroit sambler,¹¹⁸
 Qui tot le lieu deviseroit.

* * *

The Paradise tradition has elements in common with the Golden Age: both describe mortals as living at peace with gods. However in the Christian ethic such a union is but slowly attained and when it is reached it leads to a bridging of the gap between God and mankind since the saints are intercessors. Hermits attained this status as can be seen by looking at the Moniage Guillaume, a humanely written odyssey of one man's search for perfection and of his final attainment of peace after a life of turmoil.

The protagonist decides to become a monk but his arrogance coupled with his size and appetite earn him the hatred of the rest of the community who resent the amount of cloth and food that he requires. In fact the monks are "lié et joiant"¹¹⁹ to see the last of him. Wandering off Count Guillaume comes to a deep valley with a swift flowing river shaded by a leafy tree. The location is Provence¹²⁰ where the hermits of the Thébiade actually settled.¹²¹ It is an isolated spot with only the homes of hermits for a radius of seven leagues around. The Biblical connotations of such a valley are unmistakable, but Guillaume is not yet worthy to enter such a Promised Land except briefly as a visitor.

Guillaume reaches the dwelling of his hermit cousin who "iluec sert Dieu mont enterinement".¹²² His house is enclosed by a thorn hedge and a ditch. The enclosing of a Place of Delight is a common feature of the Paradise tradition and in fact the actual word "paradise" illustrates this. It comes from the old Persian "pairidaeza" composed of "pairi", "around", to which the Greek "peri" is cognate and "daeza", "a wall".¹²³ "Daeza" itself is affiliated to the Sanskrit, "dih", "to smear" and to our English word "dough". These are based on the Indo-European root* "dheigh", "to mould", "to knead", whence comes also the Greek for "a wall", originally of earth.¹²⁴ The word "paradise" originally referred to a park or garden

belonging to the Persian monarch. The Hebrew "pardes", a borrowing from Persian for which there is no Hebrew root, is used only three times in the Old Testament to describe a garden, orchard or enclosed forest: in the Song of Songs, in Ecclesiastes 2 : 5 and in Nehemiah 2 : 8. Later, towards 200 A.D. "pardes" was influenced by the Greek "paradeisos" and in the symbolic terminology of the Jewish apocalyptic tradition it came to refer both to Eden and to the Place of Delights destined for the blessed dead.¹²⁵ So the Greek "paradeisos" and the Latin "paradisus" came to have a threefold meaning; a royal park, the Heavenly Paradise and the Earthly Paradise of Eden.

The etymology shows that Paradise was an enclosed Domain of Delight. During the middle ages various geographies concerning the after-life developed, including one that situated Purgatory immediately beyond the walls of Paradise.¹²⁶ According to this Guillaume in the outside world would be in a state of anticipation waiting to enter the Place of Bliss. In fact the count cannot gain easy access to the hermitage. He does penance for his sins at the gate¹²⁷ before being permitted to pass the "postis", the strait gate" to the hermitage. Similarly Perceval and his sister had to pass the "guichoit" to gain admittance to their uncle's hermitage.¹²⁸ Possibly allusion is here made to Luke 13 : 24.

Guillaume is not ready, however, for more than a glimpse of this Paradise. On entering the chapel he knocks his head on a low beam and tells his cousin that the hermitage is too small. Whereupon the retort comes: "Ele m'est grans, sire, dist li hermite, / El ne fu pas a vostre point taillie".¹²⁹ What is fitting for one man is unsuitable for another. Paradise must also come from within for unless proper mortification has been done the joys of the world to come are inaccessible.

So Guillaume leaves the hermitage that was not cut to fit him and eventually builds one for himself in Provence. In words rich with Biblical connotations¹³⁰ the poem describes how he tilled the soil with great physical

effort: "Encoste lui ahane son courtil, / A un gran pel l'a li quens tost
"foi".¹³¹ The verb "ahaner" is singularly appropriate echoing as it does the
sound of stressed breathing.¹³² There are overtones of the folk-motif of
the heritage where one son was given a fixed sum and the second told that a
fortune lay beneath an unploughed field. By dint of his effort to find the
hidden treasure the second son turned and cultivated the land into a
veritable field of gold.¹³³

Guillaume encloses his hermitage all about:

Herbes i plante, que par le bos cueilli,
Et puis l'enclot tout entor de palis.
Ne sai des oeuvres dire toute la fin,¹³⁴
Mais mout a fait li quens bel edefi;

The lines illustrate to what extent the forest was essential to life during
the middle ages. Its spontaneous products were of far greater economic
importance than can be imagined today.¹³⁵ The forest provided fruits and
trees for grafting¹³⁶ and herbs were transplanted from the forest for
cultivation in gardens. Guillaume also grew plums and pears, oaks and
beeches.¹³⁷

Guillaume here has grown in moral stature: no longer is he in a
hermitage that does not fit, but in closer union with his surroundings and
self-sufficient. Lines from the New Testament come to mind: "Where a man
sows, there he reaps";¹³⁸ "The more you sow, the more you reap".¹³⁹ However
perfection can only be reached gradually. The count is attacked by Saracens,
and although he resists valiantly and strews his "herbiers"¹⁴⁰ with the
bodies of his adversaries, he is overpowered and led captive to Sicily.

Ransomed by King Louis seven years later, he returns to Provence and
rebuilds not just an orchard or vegetable patch, but a flower garden. The
penance of his captivity has further purified Guillaume but a life of peace
is not yet his. Paris is beseiged by infidels from Portugal and Louis
summons Guillaume to save the kingdom. On hearing of the sorry state of
France, Guillaume slashes the whole of his beautiful garden to pieces:

En sa main tint un grant pel aguisié,

Vient a ses herbes, qu'il ot edifié,
 Ainc n'i remest ne rose ne rosiers,
 Ne flors de lis, ne saille, n'eglentiers,
 Ainc n'i remest ne periers ne pumiers,
 Ne flor de glai, persins ne oliviers:
 Ses boines herbes, qui tant font a proisier,¹⁴¹
 A li marchis a son pel defroissié.

These plants are thrown onto the compost heap, proof that the garden was fertilized. Guillaume has "son cortil vergoignié",¹⁴² humiliated his garden, and substituted all kinds of stinking weeds¹⁴³ for his plants. This strange work he calls "esbanoier".¹⁴⁴ It is a symbolic desecration to show that Louis has banished his honourable knights and filled their places with traitors and flatterers. In horticultural terms the garden represents the swept house now filled by seven devils more greivous than the first.¹⁴⁵

After much adventure Guillaume rescues Louis, then lays down his sword again to take up his spade and repair his garden:

Si a refait belement son moustier,
 Et son courtil ra mont bien corteillié.
 Haus fu li tertres ou il fu herbergiés,
 Et par desous ot un destroit mont fin,
 Une iaue i coert qui descent d'un rochier,¹⁴⁶
 Que nus ne puet passer sans encombier.

The hermitage is isolated and high up, situated like Paradise according to medieval tradition.¹⁴⁷ The place is also called a "desert" a term at first sight surprising denoting at times the opposite of a garden, an uncultivated barren place which has yet to be cared for or a formerly flourishing land which has been blighted by plague or fire.¹⁴⁸ However the term "desert" has in the Bible the connotation of a newly established garden.¹⁴⁹ It is also associated with renunciation, with a purified mind and with Heaven itself.¹⁵⁰ Methodius says of the desert or wilderness that it is: "truly bare of evil, unfruitful and sterile in what is corruptible, difficult of access and hard for the majority to pass through. But it is fruitful and abounding in pasture, blossoming and easy of approach to the holy, full of wisdom and flowering with life. And this is none other than the place of Virtue, full of fair trees and gentle zephyrs, where the south wind rises and the north wind blows and the 'aromatical spices flow'".¹⁵¹ Thus in the Moniage Guillaume

it represents the new quality of mind achieved by Guillaume after he has mortified himself and fulfilled his obligations to society. It also represents the Paradise which he has attained.

At the conclusion to the poem Guillaume appears no longer as a swashbuckling aristocrat but as a Christ-like figure. His "ascension" to the high hermitage is assimilated to the transcendent, to the superhuman. There is a rupture of levels, a passing beyond the profane, beyond the human condition¹⁵² into another world. Guillaume has achieved liberty: time is abolished and he has escaped from the universal pattern of change. After a gruelling combat with the devil, Guillaume builds a bridge across the fierce-flowing waters so that pilgrims can visit him. A cosmic barrier has been broken and a "bridge of souls"¹⁵³ formed. An initiative trial has been accomplished and contact re-established between Heaven and earth.

* * *

The hermitage garden is the simplest to be examined. Often a mere vegetable patch or orchard it rarely boasts the sophistication of flowers.¹⁵⁴ However its use in literature illuminates the social and religious function of the hermit. He was essentially a mediator. Whether the hermit was a man or a woman,¹⁵⁵ his life as an anchorite was hallowed by Gospel and tradition.¹⁵⁶ At the simplest level hermits gave worldly advice or ratified social customs.¹⁵⁷ They were wise men who interpreted the secrets of the world or warned, told of ancient customs and predicted.¹⁵⁸ At times hermits act as a Greek chorus in that they give a commentary or explain the action. Hermits also interpreted otherworld mysteries,¹⁵⁹ administered the sacraments or gave hallowed burial to knights.¹⁶⁰ On many occasions knights retired to hermitages there to find salvation,¹⁶¹ or were led back to God by hermits. The hermitage is a gateway back into society after exile in the wasteland or after physical or moral illness. It is also a way of returning to a primitive perfection or of gaining entry to a Paradise state. Womb-like, with all the positive connotations of a cave, the hermitage is a place where man is rejuvenated and led to reunion with his fellowkind or with God.

CHAPTER 2 THE MONASTERY GARDEN

It has been suggested that the antecedents of monastery gardens are Greek and that there is a horticultural link between the parks of the Academic philosophers and the gardens of the middle ages. Saint Augustine, telling of the foundation of his school at Hippo, says: "I assembled in a garden that Valerius had given me certain brethren with intentions like my own."¹ Land cultivation has been linked from early times with sagacity: Columella wrote that agriculture was a sister to wisdom.² Where wisdom and agriculture came together the infirmary garden developed and the monastery became a retreat.

Candide in his famous line: "Il faut cultiver notre jardin" continues a tradition that grew as part of the monastic movement. Wace alludes to the activities of the monks of Bangor: "Dei labor de iur mains viveient, / De iur labor se susteneient".³ They imitate Saint Benedict who planted a rose garden at Subiaco and in his famous rule enjoined his brethren to cultivate the land as well as to pray. Benedict also advised his community not to be discontented if their poverty required them to gather the harvest for that would make them like the apostles: "quia tunc vere monachi sunt, si labore manuum suarum vivent, sicut et patres nostri et apostoli".⁴ Abbot Luan, the founder of Clonfert, also linked agriculture to holiness when he advised his community: "Dig and sow that you may have wherewith to eat and drink and be clothed, for where sufficiency is, there is stability, and where stability is, there is religion."⁵ Monks, such as those of Luxeuil who began reclaiming the Vosges mountains, created new arable pastures and made full use of the land. Insight into this is gained by a comparison made in the C. O. F. P. The land about Biaurepaire is contrasted to the untamed forest and likened in its prosperity to the monasteries of Cîteaux and Clairvaux.

Si a une terre trovee
de toutes parz bien ahanee;

De froment, d'avoine chargie,
 Comme couture d'abaie
 De Citiaux o de Clerevaux.⁶

The richness of the environs is born out by the vivid description of the town market that sold:

Poivre, cire, poz de metal
 Clox de girofle, citoal,
 Espices de maintes manieres,
 Qui precieuses sont et chieres.⁷

A further sign of riches comes with the list of exotic foods upon which Blanchefleur and Perceval dine. Instead of fruit they eat nutmeg as well as cloves and "citoal", elsewhere spelt "citoaut", zedoary, which is an aromatic grain a little like ginger.

Even prelates took active part in beautifying their land. Walafrid Strabo in Hortulus describes how he established his garden, firstly enclosing it all about with a square osier fence then breaking up the soil (and the "bedrooms inhabited by the shade-loving moles") to rid the ground of thistles. The ground once levelled is manured and seeds are planted that germinate with the Spring rains. Strabo's love of his nurslings then comes into evidence, for when dew and rain are insufficient he waters his plants gently "drop by drop from (his) own palms, least perchance a too fierce attack should produce too much water and move the planted seeds".⁸ Bishop Geoffrey de Montbray of Coutances visited connections in southern Italy and on his return created a park beside his new episcopal palace by sewing acorns and beech-mast.⁹ In the thirteenth century William de Colerne, Abbot of Malmesbury, bought adjoining land in order to extend his garden: "he had a vineyard planted there and surrounded with a stone wall on all sides. He also made a herb garden (or arbour?) next to that vineyard, alongside the King's wall, and caused vines and fruit trees to be planted all over the abbot's garden".¹⁰

* * *

Literature shows that one of the primary functions of monastery gardens was to provide simples. Strabo was conscious not only of the beauty and scent of his plants but of their medicinal value: sage, for instance, took pride of

place because of its sweet scent and green foliage and also because it was a powerful simple and useful as a potion.¹¹ The Queste also shows that monks practised as doctors. Melyant, gravely wounded in battle, is taken to a monastery for help: "Si mandent un moine ancien, qui chevaliers avoit este, et li mostrent la plaie. Et il la regarde et dit que il le rendra tout sain dedanz un mois."¹²

The plan of the Benedictine monastery of St. Gall shows the importance of the physic garden.¹³ It lies beside the infirmary and is overlooked by the doctor's chamber. In it grew the simples together with rue, cummin and even roses, proof that the flower garden had as one of its origins the herb garden. In fact little distinction was originally made between practical and ornamental cultivation. Pliny wrote that "at Rome at all events a garden was in itself a poor man's farm".¹⁴ The rose and the lily among other plants were certainly cultivated for ornament, but both are also useful herbs. It must also be remembered that flowers, from early medieval times, were used to decorate churches.¹⁵ However little distinction was in fact made between the "practical" and the "beautiful"; they happily coincide. In a Harley ms. lyric a girl is compared to the rose, lily, smallage, anise, alexander's array, periwinkle, columbine, sage, celandine and marigold, all of which were used as herbs or simples.¹⁶ In another poem the parsley flower is compared to the violet for its beauty. Columella also praises the green parsley that makes the flowery earth curly ("crispetur"). He talks of the leeks' long hair that makes her dishevelled, and sets these plants beside the "scented crocus-plants, of foreign lands/the gift".¹⁷ Ausonius later, when strolling in his formal rose garden, admires in the early morning the swollen drops of dew on the cabbages there.¹⁸ So it becomes clear that in medieval times most gardens served a dual purpose: they offered nutritional and medicinal plants and served also as a place of idle refuge.

Another important plan, that of the monastery of Canterbury,¹⁹ dated about 1135 and apparently giving details of an organized water system, shows

that the infirmary looked out over a large "herbarium" bounded on three sides by a cloistered walk and on the fourth by a pergola. Such a cloister is the medieval echo of the Roman peristyle or portico. Often monks settled on the sites of Roman villas, as Saint Benedict did at Monte Cassino, seemingly following the advice of the medieval proverb: "Chastel abatu est demi refait." The result was that monasteries were influenced in design by the remains that were there. At Canterbury beyond the pergola and similarly contained within the cloister was another garden with a simple but pleasantly designed well. Further garden details beyond the walls are sketched in, namely an orchard and vineyard. The most carefully drawn area is that of the simples with individual plants shown in straightish lines. Sadly the architect was more interested in his water ducts than in the plants which grow in profusion but are unidentifiable for they are represented only diagrammatically.

Another infirmary garden, but one that concentrated less on medieval herbs and more on the salutary effects of gardens was that of the monastery of Clairvaux in the twelfth century.²⁰ It seems to have been laid out in what resembles the Persian tradition, for it was divided into several beds, or, at other times cut up by little canals which though standing appeared to flow more or less.²¹ Part of the garden was less formal, an "orchard resembling a wood",²² evidence of a touch of calculated wildness, later to be loved so much by eighteenth century English garden architects. Bernard of Clairvaux describes the garden as close to the infirmary and he writes that it "lightens the infirmities of the brethren with no moderate solace".²³

From an earlier period comes further evidence that monastic foundations nursed the sick, a tradition started by Saint Benedict at Monte Cassino. In the sixth century, Cassiodorus, writing about the arrangements for an infirmary, advises the monks "to learn the nature of herbs and to study carefully the way of mixing the different species".²⁴ Yet he warns them not to place total hope in herbs or human wisdom, but to heal as a work of love prescribed by God.²⁵ He also advises the monks to read the Herbarium

of Dioscorides, "who described and drew the field herbs with marvellous exactness", also Hippocrates and Galen translated into Latin, as well as Aurelius Celsus.²⁶ From this information we know that scientific botany was practised even as a Christian duty and that the works of the ancients were not only available in monastery libraries but were consulted. One wonders how successful the monks were in matching the plants from their physic gardens with those mentioned in Greek sources, for the flora of northern Europe differs from that of Mediterranean Greece and at best other species of the same genus might be known. The result is that herbals tended either to copy illustrations from earlier manuscripts in a stylized way: true realism was achieved only later with Dürer and Leonardo, or else to put a species known to the artist alongside a text describing a Mediterranean species. Nonetheless gardens of simples were an essential part of medieval horticulture, in fact a 1577 book on husbandry says: "If men would make their gardens their Physicians, Physicians craft would soon decay."²⁷

* * *

Monastery gardens are fundamentally a sanctuary, a hallowed place and a place of safety. In Greek and Roman belief virtually every plant was linked to a god or to the transformation of a mortal, so that Ovid says, Dryope could not pick a flower by the lake without offending some spirit.²⁸ An echo of this same belief is found in Dante's Inferno in the episode of Pier della Vigna.²⁹

Something of this sense of hallowed nature survived into the middle ages. Certainly people of that period considered the garden as a retreat. Ausonius, who was of Gallic stock with access to Druidic traditions, retired from political unrest to his "nidus senectutis" at Bordeaux with its walled garden and quiet paths.³⁰ His grandson, Paulinus of Pella, after losing his estates to the Goths, settled in poverty at Marseilles on a tiny plot "non sine vite quidem vel pomis".³¹

Garden descriptions interpret a state of society and they also reflect

a tension between the ideal and the real. Through them can be seen man's idealized view of the world, a projection of man's control over his environment. There is no need to choose between gardens as a nostalgia for a lost Eden and gardens as a social response. A yearning for beauty is a fundamental element in human nature, and the extent to which beauty has been experienced only intensifies the longing towards that ideal.³² Thus one is close to the idea of Eden in one of its many forms.

The monastery was a place of safety; its calmness contrasted to the turbulence of chivalric life. In the Livre de Lancelot del Lac it is the refuge for a lady of high birth who had been forcibly taken off by Guerrhes;³³ in the Queste it is the oasis to which the maimed king retires.³⁴ The Continuation relates how Perceval jousts with a recalcitrant lover who refuses to marry the girl he has deflowered. The setting is a "prairie", "Devant le mostier soz deus charmes / Qui molt furent menu foillié".³⁵ This is the flowery mead before the monastery enclosure, a fitting place for the knight of God to vindicate the girl's honour. The two hornbeams are sufficient to evoke a garden setting.³⁶

Literature offers other instances where monasteries were places of refuge. In Galeran Renart relates how the unwanted baby was left near such an enclave of safety. Not having the heart to leave his mistress's baby to die in the wilderness, Galet rides until he reaches a rich countryside. The monastery domains are described: fertile hills covered with wheat and vineyards, field, enclosures and gardens, a river teeming with fish of various kinds and a forest abounding in an assortment of game that is carefully enumerated.³⁷ Galet does not dare leave the child at the monastery door, for fear of the wild animals, but places her in the forked branches of a magnificent ash, whence her name, Fresne:

Il garde et voit ung fresne grant
Vert et foullu; si l'ot nature
Compassé de belle faiture
De tout ce qu'a fresne convient³⁸

The shapely ash possessing all the attributes of its species is a fitting

emblem for the girl who, as she matures, acquires all the womanly skills. Pliny calls the ash "copiosissima" and says it is the antidote to the serpent and feared by the symbol of evil. So, indirectly the appellation "Fresne" denotes the antithesis to vice.

At least during the early part of the book, the monastery lives up to its name "Beauséjour", "Car bel y faisoit sejourner",³⁹ and because it was open-handed to travellers and renowned for its charity. The short poem "Ad Paulum Diaconum" succinctly describes Monte Cassino in similar terms: it is a refuge for tired wayfarers, a place where they can find peace and love as well as sustenance, vegetables (olus), fish and bread, all in abundance.⁴⁰ Romsey abbey too, was a place of sanctuary. History relates how the wayward William Rufus took a lively fancy to Matilda, daughter of the King of Scotland, who for safety was being brought up by her aunt, the Abbess of Romsey. William, in his impetuous way, arrived at the monastery and demanded admittance. For her protection Matilda was dressed like the other nuns and with them processed unmolested into the chapel. Meanwhile the king went out to the cloister garden merely as if to look at the roses and other flowering herbs: "Rex siquidem, propter inspiciendas rosas et alias florentes herbas, claustrum nostrum ingressus".⁴¹ The story offers proof of the ornamental planting of the cloister and of its value as a sanctuary, harbour even against a royal whim.

In Galeran Fresne is repeatedly associated with the beauties of nature. In comparison to other women she is the May rose that conquers and surmounts wild nettles.⁴² Her lips are sweet as nutmeg or cinnamon, her face as white as the fleur de lis and tinted with pink so that it outshines even the rose.⁴³ Such comparisons taken in isolation are fairly common in medieval literature, but in addition Fresne takes the growing tree as her symbol. Years later the abbess drives Fresne from the monastery calling her a filthy beggar⁴⁴ and taunting her that she was just a nameless foundling called after the tree in which she was found.⁴⁵ Fresne uses her wit against

this aggression and claims that from many a slender shoot comes a fruit-bearing tree:

L'en voit mainte povre racine
Dont verge assez grelotte vient,⁴⁶
Qui puis arbre portant devient.

The promise of the magnificent ash is the symbol of Fresne's perfection.

* * *

Galeran offers an intermediate area between the monastery as a place of sanctuary and the scenes of the outside world. Jean Renart uses a conventional opening similar to that of the Roman de la Rose to introduce the meeting of the young people in the garden a little way off from the monastery. It is the height of Spring, that time of love and rebirth when the birds sing of their joy in the woods.⁴⁷ The trees are budding and the fields are spangled with flowers as Winter's cold is defeated:

La violete est ou buisson
Et la rose au matin ouverte
Est Fresne qui tant est apperte,⁴⁸
Matin levee et hors yssue.

The association is direct, unmistakable: the Spring opening, both light and graceful, reaches a climax in the naming of the heroine. Then Galeran is introduced wearing the traditional love token, a chaplet of roses and violets, Fresne's gift.⁴⁹ So both young people are linked to flowers that symbolize love.

There follows a compact description of a pleasure park⁵⁰ which in many of its elements anticipates that of the Roman de la Rose. It is a wooded garden planted with an eye to variety so that trees of exuberant growth alternate with specimens of smaller size. Water is an important motif: a river runs close by and there is also a fountain, its bed clear as silver, that wells up beneath a leafy oak. It is a place of sensual delight with shade and coolness, birdsong and thick green grass, a Garden of Love: "Leens fait il seur amer / Et demourer avec sa drue".⁵¹

However there are disturbing nuances to the passage. The garden has no walls and the lovers' only protection is the presence of Lohiers.⁵² In

this idyllic setting as Galeran begins to talk of his love the outside world intrudes. Galeran from being the wooer, the hunter in love, visualizes himself as the hunted,⁵³ a theme more fully developed in the Roman de la Rose. The impact of the imagery is clear: love's paths are tortuous, the trail is not straight; the lover now pursues, now retreats.⁵⁴ But this is not all. Whilst Galeran is rather too rhetorical and slightly wordy a speech vows himself all to love, Fresne sees clearly the difficulties that lie ahead of them because of their apparently different backgrounds;⁵⁵ words may belie the feelings of the heart.⁵⁶ The peaceful monastery garden cannot protect them from the vicissitudes of love and it is only a temporary oasis from the hostile everyday world.

Yet it provides a measure for subsequent scenes in the poem. When the young lovers are separated, Galeran is courted by Esmerée, daughter of the Duke of Metz. She gives him a chaplet of flowers just as Fresne had done, and this token once received permits her certain liberties.⁵⁷ Galeran is weak and only protected from the girl's advances by the memory of Fresne. "La pensee a toute endormie en Fresne".⁵⁸ Later Galeran meets Flourie and courts her because of her likeness to Fresne. He goes to reflect in a "loge" and looks out into a garden: "S'esgarde en un vergier maint arbre, / et les oyseaux qui y font feste".⁵⁹ The garden reminds him of the "deduis" he had at Beauséjour, and, although it is beautiful, Galeran can only weep as he thinks of Fresne. The fact that Galeran stands outside the garden looking in is also symbolic; he is not an inmate of Flourie's Garden of Love. Nonetheless Fresne's words have come true: weakly Galeran courts Flourie although, "Li cuers dedans a Fresne vole".⁶⁰ Heart and words are at variance.

In this episode there is also a reflection, distorted and metaphorical though it is, of the clear and health giving fountain of Beauséjour. A stock medieval image, that of the Fountain of Narcissus aptly represents Galeran's state of mind:

Aussi com Narcisus de s'ombre
Fu en la fontaine soupris,

Galeran est de l'ombre pris
Fresnain, ce est de son semblant.⁶¹

Ovid's tale serves a new purpose. It no longer represents self love, merely love of a shadow, a love that is self centered.⁶² Galeran is weak; it is Fresne, harp hung over her shoulder and dressed as a pilgrim, in this case a pilgrim of love, who goes in search of Galeran. She has grown in stature and fulfilled her claim of becoming a strong tree from a humble shoot. Allusion seems to be made to this when the couple are eventually united and Galeran turns down the dowry not only of money and castles but also the riches of an entire forest.⁶³ Fresne is to him sufficient wealth.

In Galeran landscape is used evocatively. The two gardens represent two states of mind. In the Beauséjour garden the lovers are protected by the chaplain; he is their "wall" against the world, so, fittingly enough when he dies the garden is no longer mentioned. Afterwards Galeran trying to find love with Flourie stands beyond the garden, merely looking in. In this fragile landscape the God of Love is the huntsman. He is first mentioned in Galeran's love speech to Fresne, but later when the lovers are separated they individually echo the earlier imagery. Fresne, oppressed in the convent after the death of her godfather gives vent to her suffering: "Apprimés est mes ennemys, / li Dieu d'amours qui me guerroie".⁶⁴ And Galeran uses the same motif in his sleepless tossing when separated from Fresne. In a typically medieval fashion Christian and pagan elements merge in his prayer: "Biaux sire Dieux, comment dessert mon corps vers Amours qu'i l'occie".⁶⁵

Hunt is no longer a game but a war.⁶⁶ All the landscape elements in Galeran are subsequently taken up and redeveloped in Guillaume de Lorris' Roman de la Rose. Only the endings are markedly different in tone. In Galeran once love is gained even a forest-park is turned down for the single tree, Fresne. In the Roman de la Rose, the rose still exists but inaccessible, locked tight within the bailey walls; the Garden of Delight has been turned into an impregnable stronghold. Yet in both poems unity and psychology are transmitted through the landscape element.

Ami et Amile, gives a version of the legend of incomparable love between two men, a love so demanding that it forces one of the heroes to go to the extreme of sacrificing his own children. The book accentuates the vicissitudes of fortune which the friends must endure as proof of their love. The setting is almost invariably the outside world: Blaye with its hostile, troublemaking mistress, the court of Charlemagne with its sinister treachery and finally the mistily defined East where the friends go on pilgrimage and ultimately find their death in what resembles martyrdom. In contrast to this open world of aggression and turmoil is the setting of an ancient monastery garden, scene of two encounters between the friends. In comparison to other episodes of the chanson, the action is relatively static, yet the meetings are crucial and act as turning points to the plot.

The ruined monastery garden is the only setting where the friends are shown at liberty to confide freely in each other. On the first occasion the boys are united there after searching for each other for a proverbial seven years. Their meeting marks the end of a briefly sketched odyssey, a quest for the alter ego. Ami and Amile swear their undying love for each other and decide to set off together for the court of Charlemagne to begin a life of chivalry. It is the end of their "enfances" of the early Spring of youth and fittingly they exchange vows in a flowery mead coloured by an allusion to Summer: "Touz fu floris si conme el mois d'esté".⁶⁷

The second time the heroes meet, the setting is described in more detail. Amile, the first to arrive, invokes blessings on the place and finds beauty in the ruined monastery:

Bened^{is} sot li prés que je vois ci
Et touz li lieus et li biaux edefis.
Ci fumez noz et juré et plevi
La compaignie entre moi et Ami.⁶⁸

To one side of the "prés flori" lies the high road and near it an "aubroi"⁶⁹ or small wood where, conveniently, the attendants wait. To the other side of the mead stands the monastery, majestic even in its ruined state:

De l'autre part ot un gaste monstier,
Tuit sont li mur gasté et pesoie

Et les tors fraintez et li maubre brisié.⁷⁰

The epic quality of the landscape acquires further depth: "Biaus fu li ombres des pins et des loriers,/et d'autre part uns grans chemins i fiert."⁷¹ The setting could well be a description of an early romantic painting: the crumbling splendour of walls and marble towers, the grandiose pines and laurels with their almost dateless symbolism of heroic virtue and victory at all costs. It is an apt background for a grand gesture of heroism: Ami takes the place of his friend Amile to fight a judicial battle, it culminates in a false exchange of vows between Ami and the daughter of Charlemagne, and for this false pledge he is castigated by an attack of leprosy.

Once more the "mise en scene" clarifies the conflict between an epic heroism and an everyday life. The friends might have parted, Ami to return to the relative comfort of Blaye, Amile to cope with the accusation of seducing Charlemagne's daughter. The "pré flori" situated between the road of life and the sanctity of the crumbling monastery is a landscape of transition, of security that is only relative. It is hallowed by its proximity to the "gaste mostier", but it is not enclosed by barriers, by walls that separate it from the high road of life. Its security is limited: Amile sleeps there, hitching his horse to a bush, yet he does not disarm.⁷² Safety is relative, and in this particular chanson final safety is achieved only in the death of the heroes. Amile's rest in the monastery garden announces and anticipates the final epic death of the two brothers under conditions of semi-martyrdom.

* * *

The cemetery has an important place in the history of monastery gardens and is an example of the motif of sensuality-death-rebirth widespread in Western naturalistic cults.⁷³ Sensuality is associated with the rites of rebirth and regeneration inherent in the cycle of nature and, in many civilizations, the fecundation of nature is closely connected with the ritual union of couples repeating the cosmic union of Earth and Sky,⁷⁴ and the acts of

cultivation and harvest. The soil is tilled, ploughed and what arises from the female Earth is a birth; rains and watering fecundate the soil as a woman. There are many words of agricultural origin to denote the reproductive act, proof of the parallel between the microcosm and the macrocosm.

A Priapus figure, with grotesquely enlarged and painted member, was originally greatly revered as guardian of gardens although he degenerated into a venerable scarecrow. Columella advises the planting of an old tree in the centre of the garden to be venerated as the apotropaic figure of Priapus: "Who with his mighty member scares the boys / And with his mighty hook the plunderer."⁷⁵ Virgil had Priapus guard the garden of the bees.⁷⁶ When Priapus was assimilated to Roman culture from Asia Minor he took to him the more ancient cult of Mutunus Tutunus. Pliny uses the words "saturnica signa"⁷⁷ to represent Priapus or other dionisiac statues or symbols used as apotropaic figures in the garden. The oldest and most authentically Roman of these are the Lares who were linked to the "heredium" and were primitively the gods of the gardens.⁷⁸

Both Mutunus Tutunus and the Lares were gods of fecundity and linked to subterranean forces and the cult of the dead, as was also Venus. Death and rebirth are inexorably linked.⁷⁹ Our custom of placing flowers on graves and growing plants there dates back to antiquity. In Greek times horticulture was associated with devotion to the dead and the growing of sweet-smelling flowers symbolized the purification of their spirits.⁸⁰ The association went further: according to Aristophanes the dead were reputed to make seeds germinate and it was the practice to sow seeds on tombs.⁸¹ Offerings for harvest have a funerary aspect and agricultural feasts coincide with feasts for the dead even today.⁸² Athenian women planted on the roofs of their houses at midsummer pots of herbs such as lettuce and fennel around the figure of Adonis.⁸³ As these plants withered the women lamented the death of the god. Yet his death was also the symbol of rebirth: according to Greek mythology the rose or anemone sprang from his blood, or alternatively the anemone grew

from the falling tears of his loved one, Aphrodite.⁸⁴ Eliade sums up this interrelated theme: "Les lieux entre les ancêtres, les récoltes et la sexualité est si étroite que les cultes funéraires, agraires et gènesiques s'entrepénètrent parfois jusqu'à leur complète fusion."⁸⁵

Authors of the post-classical period maintained the primaeval association of vegetation with sensuality and death. In such authors as Alan of Lille the Virgilian or Ovidian sanctity of nature was transposed into a Christian forum. In addition elements that had earlier been instinctive became allegorical as the middle ages flowered.

The plan of the monastery of St. Gall shows a delightful cemetery garden that represents life, death and fecundity. The yew with its gloomy connotations is absent and in its place are the sweet-scented laurel and thirteen types of fruit-bearing trees.⁸⁶ The laurel symbolized immortality, peace, purification⁸⁷ and triumph while the fruit trees, apart from their obvious usefulness, stood for the fruitfulness of virtue. Rabanus Maurus writes of "fructus": "Aliquando bonam operationem designat".⁸⁸ The choice of trees for this architect-designed garden may well have been influenced by Charlemagne's Capitulare⁸⁹ and there is doubt whether all the trees mentioned would have flourished in subalpine conditions, yet the plan would have created a garden-orchard giving to the living a sense of the gentleness of death and an awareness of the delights of nature.

The early thirteenth century romance Amadas et Ydoine sets the climax of the action, the final reunion of the star-crossed lovers, in a cemetery that has elements in common with St. Gall. Emphasis is repeatedly placed on the beauty of the place and on the fact that it is hallowed by its antiquity and by the saintly people whose bodies rest there:

A une part de la cité
 Une place ot d'antiquité
 Qui mult ert grans et large et plaine,
 En deliteus liu ert et saine;
 De mur fu close toute bien
 La place du tans ancien;
 Sus siel n'avoit nul liu plus sains,
 Car laiens avoit maint cors sains

Dont les ames sont ja en gloire
 Ensi com tesmaigne l'estoire,⁹⁰
 Corounees en paradis.

The accent placed on the sanctity of the enclosure is worth noting. In the Quest, one of Galaad's first adventures concerns a planted cemetery. There is one tomb shaded by a large tree: "cel grant arbre et cele tombe desoz".⁹¹ A voice issuing from the tomb is capable of taking away the hearer's strength: it belongs to a bad Christian. Galaad purifies the place by taking the unholy body from the grave. In the brief description of the stone beneath the tree there may be a link to the ancient and ubiquitous tree-stone-water motif. The important notion here is that a cemetery should be pure.

In Amadas et Ydoine the cemetery is also called "la closture",⁹² where Amadas feels safe to mourn his "drue" and swear his undying love. On the night of Ydoine's burial Amadas visits her tomb. He enters the "liu d'antiquité", dismounts and hitches his horse to a pine.

A un pin qui estoit ramus
 L'atace ferment et lie,
 L'escu au col qui reflambie,
 Et sa lance apoia au mur:
 Mult quide bien estre asseur.⁹³

The specific mention of the pine is appropriate, consecrated as it is by literature it evokes an entire garden and, as if enforced by the progression of the story, it is associated with love and renewal.⁹⁴ Amadas et Ydoine is in fact a twice repeated variation of the myth of Orpheus and Euridice.⁹⁵

As Amadas weeps on Ydoine's grave other mourners leave the cemetery for night is come. The important comment is made: "Li vis au vif, li mors au mort",⁹⁶ an echo of "leave the dead to bury the dead".⁹⁷ Amadas remains. His confrontation with the nether world takes place at the witching hour⁹⁸ when a crowd of one thousand "Clers, chevaliers, puceles, / Et demoisiaus et demoiseles"⁹⁹ appear carrying a bier, a symbol of death. The noise of their approach causes the earth to tremble,¹⁰⁰ and Amadas fears that they have come to steal the body of Ydoine.

At this point the fearsome "maufé" leaps his horse over the wall: "Le

mur tressaut plus d'une toise".¹⁰¹ This is a supernatural feat and represents the crossing of a cosmic barrier from the Land of the Dead into the Land of the Living. Amadas defends the honour of his beloved against the "maufé". The scene is eerie: a battle in the dark cemetery, a silent throng of spectators, sparks lighting up the grass as sword strikes shield.¹⁰² The hellish creature of darkness and evil is eventually defeated and forced to reveal to Amadas how he can resussitate Ydoine. He then leaps his horse back into the realm of death as day breaks.

The motifs of day and life are strong in the poem. Amadas takes Ydoine from the grave and from death "Si com apert l'aube dou jour".¹⁰³ Life has vanquished death: the cemetery is a place of rebirth where lovers are reunited.

Lancelot, too, is born to a new life in a cemetery garden. Before that, kidnapped by the Lady of the Lake, he neither knew his name nor lineage. Here Lancelot discovers his destiny linked both to name, ancestry and achievement.¹⁰⁴ Later when Arthur and his Queen come to the Doloreuse Garde we learn that there is a garden adjoining, or a part of, the cemetery that goes right up to the great hall. Place of trial and garden are united. Also the garden/cemetery is a place where truth is discovered once Lancelot has discovered himself; some of the inscriptions of dead knights in the cemetery were untrue and disappeared when Lancelot discovered himself. In this episode, a coming to manhood, Lancelot's name is changed from the youthful term of endearment bestowed on him by the Lady of the Lake to his adult name: similarly the castle previously known as "La Doloreuse Garde" now is known as "La Joyeuse Garde". We are faced with the deep and mythical complexity of the power of the name, a power that rejuvenates, brings spirit to the body¹⁰⁵ or place.

In the Queste Perceval and Galaad come upon a garden-like cemetery near a mysterious castle. The castle had been destroyed by divine vengeance because the blood of good maidens had been spilt there "por la terrienne

garison d'une desloial percheresse". No more is heard about this strange affair that sounds like a mass human sacrifice to the powers of evil, but the two knights explore the castle and eventually come to a cemetery beside a chapel: "Quant li dui compaignon orent grant piece alé par le chastel por resgarder la grant mortalité qui i estoit fete, se troverent au chief d'une chapele un cimetiere tot plein d'arbrisiax fuilluz et d'erbe vert, et estoit toz pleins de beles tombes; se en i pooit bien avoir seisante."¹⁰⁶ It appears to be a garden of richly growing shrubs and green grass, but the most interesting element is yet to come: "Si estoit si biax et si delitables qu'il ne sembloit mie que tempeste i eust esté. Et non avoit il, car laienz gisoient les cors des puceles qui por amor a la dame avoient esté mortes."¹⁰⁷ The fact that storm is unknown in the garden links it to the Paradise tradition. In the middle ages Eden was considered as a place of eternal Spring and temperate climate. Rabanus Maurus writes: "non frigus, non aestus, sed perpetua veris temperies".¹⁰⁸ There is also a connection to the numerous descriptions of the "locus amoenus". Virgil, to enhance his picture of Italy writes: "hic ver adsidium atque aliensis mensibus aestas bis gravidae pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos".¹⁰⁹ That Spring is ceaseless and that Summer comes in months where Summer is strange bring to mind Virgil's idyllic description of the "Corycian Swain" with his garden near Tarantum¹¹⁰ who was able, by dint of labour, to reclaim useless land and use it as his Terrestrial Paradise. He grew a mixture of flowers and fruits and vegetables, so that he "matched in his heart's content the wealth of kings, and home returning late at night, with unbought dainties used to pile his board". However the closest connection to the Queste cemetery is in Chrétien's description of "l'Isle Noire":

Nus n'i oï unques tonoire,
 Ne n'i chiet foudre ne tanpeste,
 Ne boz ne serpanz n'i areste,
 Ne n'i fest trop chaut ne n'iverne.¹¹¹

The cemetery, Avalon, and the "locus amoenus" of Virgil are in the same tradition representing different facets of man's edenic dream of a place of Spring and temperateness. In the Queste there is the adjacent theme of purity

which specifically links the cemetery to the Celestial Paradise. The motif of death is supplanted by that of Spring and rebirth.

The cemetery garden of Floire et Blancheflor illustrates the multivalence of medieval imagery and raises again the recurring themes of death and rebirth. Blancheflor's tomb is set beneath a tree immediately in front of a monastery.¹¹² It is a wondrous affair of many-hued marble inlaid with crystal, gold and silver. Rabanus Maurus glosses crystal as "natura angelica", gold as "virtus caritatis" and silver as "martyres".¹¹³ Many other allegorical meaning could be given, but these fit the character of Blancheflor. The tomb is adorned by four marvellous trees oriented towards the four cardinal points;¹¹⁴ it appears to be patterned on the square. The square has been used almost universally as the ideal geometric figure and is associated with the otherworld, with perfection and with love.¹¹⁵ In 1001 Nights the square city of el-Andalûs is related to Solomon,¹¹⁶ and in Floire et Blancheflor a similar association is made. Of the marble stone covering the tomb the poet writes: "Si fu enteilliee environ / De la bonne ouvre Salemon".¹¹⁷

The planting of the cemetery garden in Floire et Blancheflor is not only exotic but smacks of the marvellous. Despite the fact that the grave is but newly built, a trick to deceive Floire, the trees are fully established. The slightly mysterious "cil",¹¹⁸ those who planted the trees, made a conjuration to all the gods. Such conjurations actually took place: not only the Christian God but pagan deities were evoked with great ritual.¹¹⁹ No plant is precious in itself but only insofar as it reflects an archetype or is consecrated by the repetition of certain actions or words which isolate the plant from our historical and profane world.¹²⁰ In Floire et Blancheflor because of such a solemn invocation, the trees bear flowers throughout the year¹²¹ so that it appears to be a garden of eternal Spring, impervious to the onslaughts of the seasons. This attribute, coupled with the fact that birds sing there continuously,¹²² links the garden to the Paradise tradition.

Furthermore the birdsong transforms the garden into a Place of Love, for the melody causes all the young people who hear it to fall in love and embrace.¹²³ Yet, unlike the garden of the God of Love in the Roman de la Rose, it is not exclusively a place for the young. Those who are beyond the age of loving can also take their ease there, for the sweetness of the birdsong sends them to sleep.¹²⁴

The marvellous quality of the garden is enhanced by the splendour of its four exotic trees. That to the north is of a lovely shape and is laden with red and white blossoms which presumably represent the love and purity that are Blanche-flor's attributes. It is a "benus" or ebony tree and, according to the poem, has the peculiar characteristic that its wood can withstand fire.¹²⁵ This quality of indestructibility reflects the children's enduring love. The notion that ebony is virtually imperishable is found also in Pliny, and although he does not state that it will not burn, he affirms that it does not give forth any flame.¹²⁶ To the south of the tomb stands a red terebinth, more beautiful than the proverbially beautiful rose, more lovely than anything else beneath the heavens,¹²⁷ a symbol of richness. To the east and west are a chrism and a balsam tree that give forth a marvellous scent: "N'est en ce siecle tele odours / Qui cele vaille de lors flors".¹²⁸ A tree whose flowers drip holy oil is a wonderful poetic invention, but the balsam was widely appreciated for its scent.¹²⁹ Sweetness of scent is associated with Paradise, sanctity, healing and love.¹³⁰ The scent pervading Blanche-flor's tomb would therefore primarily testify to her goodness.

In addition to being adorned with fragrant exotic trees, the garden possesses other marvels. It is virtually a microcosm, for on the many coloured tomb is depicted all the fauna of the universe:

N'a souz ciel beste ne oisel,
 Ne soit assis en ce tombel,
 Ne serpent c'on sache nonmer,¹³¹
 Ne poisson d'iaue ne de mer.

The greatest wonder however are the automates that represent the young lovers sitting side by side. The statue of Blanche-flor holds a golden rose whilst that

of her friend holds a white lily, flowers that from early times have represented human as well as divine love. An amazing contraption of four tubes and four horns is built onto the tomb and this is activated when wind blows into one of the horns. Then the children speak to each other of their love and their youth and tenderly kiss. When the wind ceases they again rest beside each other and appear to laugh.¹³² So it is that the garden possesses not only great natural beauty and birds and beasts, but it also epitomises the love between the two young people.

The most puzzlingly marvellous element in the garden, the automata, are a feature also of the Emir's garden described later in the poem. Automata as part of garden and architectural decoration are solidly based on Eastern tradition¹³³ and serve to give exoticism to the description in Floire et Blancheflor. The fruit-scattering tree in one of the tales of Firdausi's Shah Nama is also affiliated to the garden of Blancheflor's tomb. The tree in the former bears fruit that are meant to cause love or to cure it, while in the latter the birdsong either induces the young to love, or calms those of a certain age so that they fall asleep. Also the trees to the east and west of the tomb shed chrisem and balsam whilst that described by Firdausi scatters musk and wine. The similarities are unmistakable.¹³⁴ Much of the marvellous in Floire et Blancheflor is based on Eastern influence, but the automata are also of the same period and family as those at Hesdin. Thus they combine the exotic and the real.

There is a certain ambiguity about the love garden in Floire et Blancheflor: it is still a cemetery. Floire when he visits it is impervious to its charms and conscious only of the death of his "drue". There are similarities to the story of Romeo and Juliette, for in his misery at the supposed death of Blancheflor, Floire determines to kill himself so that he can be united with her in that other Garden, the "champ flori".¹³⁵ He tries to stab himself but is prevented by his mother who warns him that if he takes his own life he will be damned in Hell and will never enter the Blessed Flowery Meadow for it is barred to the sinner.¹³⁶ In this way a veiled comparison is

made between the Garden of Paradise that only the spotless may penetrate and that of the tomb of Blancheflor which does not have such exclusiveness despite its wonders. The themes of death and rebirth in this poem set up a tension which is complicated rather than resolved by the sensuality inherent in the garden elements. The description of the garden incorporates certain elements from the real world with certain others of poetic inspiration. The result is an ambiguous statement that develops the sensuality-death-rebirth motif and links it to the love of the young hero and heroine.

* * *

The Mary Garden a "topos" in literature, is a Christianized version of a ubiquitous nature cult: through vegetation the sacred is revealed, rhythmic regeneration and inexhaustable life are manifested.¹³⁷ Linked to the Mary Garden is the metaphysical myth of the Tree of Life associated with the life-giving Tree of the Cross.¹³⁸ This tree for Christians is also the support of the world and as such it incorporates the symbolic Cosmic Tree.¹³⁹ The Great Goddess, of which Mary is a manifestation, has been mythically associated with the Tree of Life from the Mesopotamian civilization onwards.¹⁴⁰ Mary is referred to as the sweet tree or grafted tree and thus her sacrality is revealed. Conversely certain plants gain their consecration from her, for she is a world centre. Their magical or pharmaceutical powers are due to a celestial prototype.¹⁴¹

Earlier the sensuality inherent in cultivation was discussed:¹⁴² The woman is assimilated to the ploughed furrow and agricultural work is linked to the generative act. Because woman was one with other centres of cosmic fecundity, the Earth, the Moon, she herself acquired the power to influence and distribute fertility.¹⁴³ This widespread and archaic intuition was assimilated, with certain changes, to Christianity. Mary is often depicted with the crescent moon or surrounded by a garden, and she is the mediatrix between God and man and the distributor of grace which, to a soul, is fertility. Yet because she is a Virgin she cannot be seen as the ploughed land: in a

twelfth century hymn she is glorified as "Terra non arabilis quae fructum parturiit".¹⁴⁴

Mary is often represented with the Tree of Life within a circular garden. In part the circle is an artist's convention to avoid problems of perspective, but more precisely the motif of sacred tree and goddess depicted within a circle shows precisely the value of a hallowed place as a "centre". The circle so favoured in rituals of magic and religion has the primary object of separating two different spaces or worlds.¹⁴⁵ Within the circle is an enclave, an organised space, a "centre"; without is chaos and evil.¹⁴⁶

Mary as a human partakes of man's condition, yet because she is spotless and the mother of God she is also a link to the divine. Her garden is a sacred space and, as Eliade points out, man has a desire to be "au coeur du monde, de la réalité et de la sacralité".¹⁴⁷ Man longs to go beyond the human condition and rediscover a prelapsarian state, and the Mary Garden is the outward manifestation of the "centre" to which man aspires.

Already by the third century flowers were not so widely condemned by the church as being heathenish, for their pagan associations were being supplanted by Christian symbolism. The lily, once the flower of Aphrodite, was now associated with Mary and all that she represented. Methodius, writing in that century, glosses the following line from the Song of Songs: "As the lily among thorns, so is my neighbour among the daughters". For Methodius the gift of chastity is like "a lily because of its purity, its fragrance, its sweetness and its charm. For chastity is a Spring flower, ever putting forth in delicate white petals the blossom of incorruptibility".¹⁴⁸ Rabanus Maurus glosses the same line as "sancta Ecclesia" surrounded by heretical doctrines, but for him the lily also represents the splendour of the Godhead, the perfect and good works.¹⁴⁹ Symbolical meanings were also attached to the rose and the violet. Mary was the "rosa mystica", the "rosa sine spinas".

Therefore it is not surprising that in the eighth century Pope Hadrian I

planted the cloister of San Paolo Fuori with flowers, trees and a central fountain,¹⁵⁰ for flowers were often set out in praise of the Madonna and other elements in a garden such as the frequently depicted fountain with three jets represented the Trinity. Such a garden was considered a reflection of divine love, a Garden of Charity.

Strabo, a gentle lover of growing things, was conscious both of the medicinal value of his plants and of their spiritual connotations. For him a stroll in the garden was tantamount to an act of prayer, for the rose represented for him the blood of martyrs and the lily the splendour of virginity. Fittingly, too, before the picturesque dedication to Grimaldus describing a garden of dappled shade and happy schoolboys, the poem ends with a prayer to the Virgin.¹⁵¹ And Strabo was not alone in cultivating ornamental plants. In monasteries such as Romsey flowers were grown and used lavishly and their decorative value was not ignored even by kings.¹⁵² From time to time literature offers a brief indication of the symbolism of monastery gardens. In the Queste, Galaad, Bademaguz and Yvain meet in a monastery and are hospitably received. It is a "blanche abbaye" a term that could either refer to the pristine whiteness of the building, or to the fact that the monks belonged to the Order of Cluny. After their physical needs have been attended to the knights go out into the lovely cloister garden to relax: "Le soir, quand il orent mengié et il se furent alé esbatre en un vergier qui estoit laiencz, qui molt ert biax, si s'asistrent desoz un arbre et lors lor demanda Galaad quele aventure les avoit laiencz amenez."¹⁵³ The cloister garden, the tree, are a peaceful and fitting setting for talk of a heavenly quest. Galaad the peerless, God's appointed knight, will succeed in gaining the white shield that smells as if all the spices of the world had been sprinkled on it.¹⁵⁴ It is right that the sanctity and isolation of the cloister garden should be the prelude to his quest.

The C. O. F. P. give another shorthand description of a monastery, there used as a hallowed final resting place for a valiant knight. After Gauvain has rashly killed the father of the Demoisele de Lis, her brother takes

the body to a nearby monastery for honourable burial. It is "une riche abeie en une bele prairie, / Pres de forest, just un pendant".¹⁵⁵ The allusion is to a monastery set close to a hill, surrounded by a flowery mead with beyond a tended woodland. In the early twelfth century Baudri of Dole's description of the monastery of Fécamp in Normandy, has elements in common with the thumbnail sketch of the C. O. F. P. Fécamp is compared to Paradise: "Locus ille velut quidem paradisi hortus", situated as it is between two hills. Beside it is well cared for woodland park. The trees are carefully pruned and the trunks cleaned of branches and leaves so that a vista is obtained. Yet the density of the foliage is such that it protects alike from sun and rain. It is a place in which to stroll and beyond it lies a tranquil bay of clear water abounding in fish. There are fountains also, proper for an orchard, to water the fruit-bearing trees.¹⁵⁶ However Baudri at Fécamp hankers for the roses of Burgueil. Only when he visited England was his longing for beautiful flowers satisfied, and he was lead to exclaim: "Bone Deus! quam olentes rosas, quam albicantia lilia ibi perensi."¹⁵⁷

Again and again the rose and the lily are named, the same flowers that were held by the automaton statues of Floire et Blancheflor as tokens of earthly love. Secular and spiritual meanings existed side by side throughout the middle ages. Perhaps the world of love and passion is not a divided one, so consequently the language of passion may be one. Often words of love and yearning for a mystical union directed to the Virgin are penned in the same terms that describe physical love and frequently, too, the landscape is the same. Raby gives a poem said to have been composed at the request of Saint Louis who suggested to one of the squires who normally wrote worldly songs that he try his hand at something a little more elevating. The result is a "pastourelle" of Mary walking in a flowery mead, lines of French alternating with lines of Latin.¹⁵⁸ The elements are a morning stroll, a "pré fleuri", sweet-scented flowers, a gentle breeze and the poet in the service of his lady. The resonance is that of a love poem, and it is a love poem: but here the object

of the poet's love is the Madonna.

Certain lines from an English medieval poem celebrating the Nativity epitomize the tender sensuality associated with the cult of Mary:

In quiet he drew
Towards her bower,
As the April dew
Falls on the flower.
In quiet he drew
To where she lay,
As the April dew
Falls on the spray. 159

There is wonder and tenderness in the poem and delicacy in the comparison of virginity to the softness and freshness of dew. The poem is also a Christianized version of the Earth/Sky theme. Eliade quotes a hymn of the Kumana of southern Africa: "La Tere est notre m̄re, le Ciel est notre p̄re. Le Ciel fertilise la Terre par la pluie, la Terre produit les c̄reales et l'herbe."¹⁶⁰

French poems also describe the perpetual virginity of Mary in just such a mixture of sensuality and awe. Chanson XIV of Perdigon¹⁶¹ is a moving prayer to the Virgin: she is the open rose that received the "gracia floria", the flowered grace, of Christ who came to her as a ray of light. In Robert de Boron's Le Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal Mary is the sweet hawthorn, the rose bush bearing the rose of Christ, the incomparable rose without thorn, his burning bush untouched by fire.¹⁶² In Huon le Roi de Cambrai's Ave Maria the garden imagery grows. Mary is not only the rose and the lily but also the inexhaustible Fountain of Salvation and the grafted pear tree offering fruits from Paradise: "Car la douce ente nous tent poires / Et fruit de Paradis ..."¹⁶³ A grafted pear tree is a supremely sensual image combining as it does the Tree of Venus with an allusion to union in the act of love. It is used in Cligès, and, in a way that is totally unambiguous, in another medieval poem, "I newly have a garden".¹⁶⁴

So the landscape around the Madonna grows in depth. Rutebeuf's Miracle de Theophile tells of a man who gave his soul to the devil then later calls on Mary for help. She rebuffs him as a woman would and in a decidedly

down to earth way tells him to be off, but he perseveres and breaks into a lyric of praise:

Flors d'eglantier et lis et rose
En qui li Filz Dieu se repose¹⁶⁵
Que ferai j'ié?

Arousable fontaine
Et delitable et saine¹⁶⁶
A ton Fil me rapele.

Mary is characterized as a very human person, slightly aggrieved by Theophile's demands but not impervious to flattery. Nonetheless the lines quoted ring out as a heartfelt prayer, although one that could be addressed to the object of a human passion.

Over and again the same symbolism is used for secular and religious love: the human tongue is finite and culls its comparisons from the world about. How often a maiden is addressed as, or likened to, the rose, lily or "fleur de lis", that mysterious flower to which the lily has given its name, yet apparently the iris its form. Such phrases as: "blanche con fleur de lis nouvelle", "plus iert blanche que flor de lis", or "rose de nouvel espanie", are a commonplace to describe the perfection of the beloved. Yet in the Queste and other works the gap is bridged between the use of such terms with a religious or physical connotation. Galaad, for instance, is compared to the whiteness of the "fleur de lis" because of his virginity and the dying king has such joy that it is akin to the beauties of rose and lily.¹⁶⁷ Frequently it is impossible with a quotation taken out of context to judge whether it applies to the life of the spirit or the life of the flesh. A passage from the Franco-Italian Jugement d'Amour attaches the following meaning to the lily:

(Le) lis est d'amors sinifiance,
Qu nulle flors non est plus blanche,
Ni non perd(e) onques sa beltés
Ni per yver ne par estés,
Ni per froide ne par challor¹⁶⁸
Ne pert onques son qollor.

Only the textual associations of these lines provide the information that this is a sprightly parody of the courts of love, a battle between birds to decide whether the cleric or the knight makes a better lover.

Guillaume de Dole by Jean Renart, or an imitator of his, shows how narrow is the line, if there is one, that separates the different forms of praise or adoration. In the culminating point to the poem, Lienors, the Maiden of the Rose-Marking, is finally proved innocent and virginal. The king's joy at discovering that she has been maligned by a jealous courtier is picked up in a counterpoint by an anonymous refrain:

Tendez tuit voz mains a la flor d'esté
 A la flor de liz
 Por Deu, tendez i. 169

This is the climax of praise for the heroine before the happy finale of reunion with Guillaume. Meanwhile he has been waiting hesitantly outside in the garden, too tense to enjoy even that music of love par excellence, the song of the nightingale. The elements of the two scenes are clear: on one hand the lady being exonerated at court, on the other hand, as a cameo background, the hero in the setting of a love garden. Yet the words of the anonymous refrain could well be addressed by the devout at the shrine of the Virgin one May morning. What was the origin of the refrain? Praise of Mary or of a more earthly Eve? Perhaps one cannot separate completely the two figures of charity and lust. Each acts as a foil to the other.

* * *

The garden was part and parcel of the monastic movement. It bears witness to the monks' duty to engage in manual work and heal the sick. The garden was also a place of meditation and an organised enclave to which people could retreat from the unrest of the world. The garden, in fact, appears to evolve as a precise social response to turbulent times. That part of the monastery garden that grew up as a cemetery had specific allegorical meanings: it revealed the Christian odyssey of the soul in terms of ancient naturalistic cults. The Mary Garden, too, is a Christianized vision of mythical beliefs but above all it illustrates the richness of medieval thought, the ability to transcend the barriers between body and spirit, to use images from the concrete world to represent the heights of spiritual aspiration.

CHAPTER 3 THE CASTLE GARDEN

Nobles may well have followed the example of monks in developing a love of gardens: Biaurepaire for its beauty and cultivation is compared to the monasteries of Cîteaux and Clairvaux.¹ Whatever the case, by the thirteenth century a garden, whether simple or sophisticated, was an indispensable adjunct to the castle.

At their simplest, gardens followed the chequer-board design with beds of vegetables and medicinal herbs enlivened by plots of flowers. Such was the garden by the chamber of the daughter of King Orcans. It is described as a "prael" and in it Perron is healed with "herbes profitables".² Such a garden associated with healing has links to the eremitic and monastic traditions.

In literature castle gardens are frequently suggested by the mention of a tree at which knights dismount. In the Continuation Perceval, returning home, sees the traditional mounting block beneath an "haut arbre", a sign that the wasteland has given place to cultivation.³ At other times the ubiquitous pine of heroic reputation set in the courtyard⁴ is replaced by an elm as in the giant's courtyard of the Queste.⁵ Elsewhere the oak is named as when Gauvain and Hector hitch their horses to two of these trees before climbing the high hill to Nacien's hermitage.⁶ The aspen figures also: Perceval, in his search for the Grail Castle, hitches his horse to an aspen at the manor of a "preudom".⁷ The beech evokes a castle garden in the Roman de Renart for the besiegers outside Malpertuis lie beneath a beech, an oak and an ash.⁸ The hornbeam too is favoured under similar circumstances: before the parting of the ways outside Arthur's castle are two hornbeams⁹ and in L'Atre Périlleux hornbeams, alders and elms border the flowery mead that serves for a tourney.¹⁰ In the Chanson de Roland where gardens are evoked with a few symbolic strokes, Charlemagne holds council "suz un laurier ki est enmi un camp".¹¹ The laurel, a tree of ancient symbolism, is appropriate to the epic style.¹²

Other trees associated with the garden are the poplar, the sycamore and the mysterious "ente de sainrieule" under which the traitors hide in the episode of the false Guinevere.¹³ The word "ente" or "hante"¹⁴ which normally means a grafted tree figures extensively in medieval literature. Guernes de Pont-Sainte Maxence cites what appears to be a medieval proverb drawing moral conclusions from horticultural reality:

Bon' ente en bon estoc deit bien fructifier;
 En malvais estoc vei bon' ente mal fructier.
 Qui malvais arbre aluche, malvais fruit deit mangier.¹⁵

This is not the only occasion where "ente" has moral connotations: Mary is "la douce ente", but this identical metaphor is overlaid also with sexual connotations.¹⁶ A grafted plant is the epitome of beauty surpassing even the rose in loveliness,¹⁷ but unfortunately medieval authors do not specify what was the grafted plant.

Only rarely in medieval literature is garden description absent, as when in the courtyard of Carlion there is no mention of growing things but only of a "pel" to which horses were tied.¹⁸ Medieval imagination, however, was rich in filling in details of garden description. In the Chastelaine de Vergi the heroine's lover was wont to wait in the "vergier" until the "petit chienet"¹⁹ came to signal that all was clear for the rendezvous. The only other mention of a garden in this romance is that the Duke, spying on the lovers, hides in a huge tree which covers him like "une targe".²⁰ Yet the tragedy and the visual impact of this poem was such that it was known as the Chastelaine du Vergier.

Echoes of medieval gardens have been transmitted even down to our times: in the Moniage Guillaume Louis of France assembles his contingent "Sous Saint Germain enmi les prés floris",²¹ while the battle against Synagon the infidel takes place outside the Saracen fortress in a "pre herbu" or flowery mead.²² The mentions of these gardens hint tantalizingly at the environment. The "Quens del Parc" who befriends the Knights of the Round Table figures in the Queste. The mention of the word "parc" conjures to mind that which is civilized. On the other hand Arthur's knights are hated at the Castel de la Blanche Espine.

The connotations of "white" are here irrelevant, the important element is the wild, uncivilized thorn tree.²³ The Roman de Renart, despite its irony, provides a further glimpse of a castle park. Hersant and Isangrin "logie desoz un pin"²⁴ in the pose of epic heroes lay siege to Malpertuis, but the wily Renart surprises his besiegers in a *sorti* and ties them hard and fast to the trees under which they sleep: "chascuns gesoit dele un chaine / ou delez fou ou delez fresne".²⁵ His domain was therefore a wood of mixed trees.

Richer descriptions of castle gardens exist in literature and three of these will now be considered. The first is the castle of Bran de Lis, father of the maiden that Gauvain wronged in the most unchivalrous fashion. It is directly contrasted to the heat and barrenness of the wasteland through which Arthur and his knights have to pass.²⁶ The knights eventually reach a haven, a land of fields, forests and gardens where the grass is so lush it comes up to the horses' bellies. This is the home of Bran, a "si bele terre"²⁷ with, at the head of the drawbridge, four olives that shade a running fountain.²⁸ Bran's home is a "petit chastel" within the outer castle walls. Beyond is a meadow where the knights take their horses for it would be a "grans max"²⁹ not to care for these friends of man. Close by the castle is a large tree park of olives and pines³⁰ filled with more people than a city, and a little further off are vast hunting reserves. The people in the garden are the townsfolk for they are celebrating with great "joie" the feast of a local saint. The reader's eye takes in these details, then centres on the figure, almost larger than life, of Bran, seated in a heroic pose, beneath a laurel,³¹ in the evening light. The impression is that of a garden-theatre, an aristocratic version of the village common.

Another castle with strong visual impact is that of the Magic Chessboard. Two pines are planted within the bailey at the foot of the tower or keep:

Ce n'estoit se merveille non
 Del grant ombrage que tenoient
 Dui pin qui en la place estoient;³²
 Mes onques nul home ne vit.

Beyond the castle is a great, swift, fell river that almost cost Perceval his

life³³ and into which he nearly threw the chess pieces. The entire episode is strange. Perceval is not waylaid by the wiles and implicit false promises of happiness of a "luxuria"-type figure, yet although close to the Grail Castle he visits that of the Magic Chessboard instead. This is bounded on one side by a cosmic barrier, a river of destruction, and on the other by a "grant parc"³⁴ or hunting enclosure where quests are to be accomplished. The ubiquitous pines in the courtyard announce deeds of heroism to be achieved.

Yet more carefully described is the castle of Alardin and it is surrounded by an aura of the magical that adds splendour. Alardin approaches his castle accompanied by a flock of sweet singing birds:

Chascuns des oiseillons chantoit
 An son latin, si com il doit³⁵
 A sa maniere dolcement.

He is surrounded by light and the storm cannot touch him. Such control over the elements and nature indicates supernatural powers, and later we learn that, just like his sister, he can also heal.³⁶ The castle is set in a large and wide valley a version of the Promised Land,³⁷ and it stands within a circular lake two leagues wide. A circle is not only the symbol of perfection but has associations with the magical.³⁸ The castle itself is surrounded by a palisade with "breteches" and linked to the forest park by a huge drawbridge twenty-five feet in width by fourteen toises (27286 m.). This massive drawbridge is raised by means of two silver chains of Turkish work, a sign of the exotic and of purity. From the end of the drawbridge to the land is a high walled walkway or "chauciee" immediately reminiscent of the structure of certain crusader castles in the Holy Land that were defended in just this way and set in the water so that they could be provisioned by boat.³⁹

The atmosphere of the lake retreat is one of plenty. Alardin offers Carados horses, hunting dogs and all manner of birds as well as a magic boss to heal Guignier. The castle is totally self-sufficient: everyone has meat according to his whim and there are "praiiaus et vergiers / Plantez de divers arbres chiers".⁴⁰ These appear to be on the island while the hunting forests

are beyond the lake. Alardin's retreat illustrates vividly what vast medieval castles were like, and the atmosphere is enhanced by exotic details.

* * *

These literary descriptions of castle gardens are supplemented by historical documents that show how medieval gardens drew on both the Roman and Eastern tradition of garden design.

Pietro de' Crescenzi describes a simple garden under the heading "De giardini dherbe piccole".⁴¹ Crescenzi, perhaps following Albertus Magnus' de Vegetabilibus or common usage, advocates careful preparation of the soil and the use of boiling water to purge it of weeds and prevent their seeds from germinating. He goes on to talk of the garden itself which, though unpretentious and practical, has elements of a pleasure garden. Regularity is a feature. The garden is to be square, bordered by herbs valuable as simples and for their sweet scent as well as by ornamental plants from different regions.⁴² Notice the idea of introducing exotic plants as well as natives. Rue should be planted "in piu loci", because it has beautiful foliage and by its bitterness it will keep out "ivenenosi animali".⁴³ The walnut, on the other hand, is to be excluded because it is noxious. This notion is derived either directly or indirectly from Pliny who maintains that the very shadow of the walnut is poison to any plant that it touches.⁴⁴ Both Crescenzi and Albertus Magnus insist that on the southern side of the garden trees and vines should be planted to provide refreshing shade. However the shade must not be too dense or it will detract from the health-giving aspect of the place.⁴⁵ To the north the garden is open in order to benefit by the "sanitade & purita" of the winds that come from that direction, whereas thanks to the combination of trees and vines the southern winds that bring "tenebrosita & pestilentia" are excluded. Between the herb beds is to be grass, an area free from trees so that it is without cobwebs and pleasant to walk in and in the very centre of the garden should be a clear fountain whose beauty induces "dileto & giocondita".

Such an enclosure was already a pleasance. The words "delight", "health",

"happiness" form a refrain to the description. Proportion is essential, as important as in the design of the first botanical garden, the sixteenth century Orto Botanico of Padua,⁴⁶ which, too, has a central fountain at the crossing of the paths, possibly a reflection of the Eastern cosmos. In Crescenzi's second chapter "De giardini & mezolane persone & delle grandi & mezane" he further insists on proportion: trees should be planted in groups of one species at a distance of ten or twenty feet apart depending on their size⁴⁷ and the notion of "delight" is again insisted on. "Delight" is, in fact, dependent on proportion and visual beauty, as well as on the gratification of other senses such as the sense of smell. Sweet scent is indeed important even in the smallest garden, far more so than the practical aspects: "non si richiede il fructo degli arbori nelharbaio ma solamente il delecto".⁴⁸

Other gardens were even more sophisticated: Hesdin covered a vast 463 ha.⁴⁹ and by the end of the thirteenth century it possessed elaborate automata.⁵⁰ Charageat suggests that Hesdin was the subject of the miniatures that illustrate the Epître d'Othéa de Christine de Pisan executed between 1455 and 1461 under the direction of Jean Mielot.⁵¹ Elements from the miniatures depicting this Versailles of the middle ages⁵² are worth noting. The garden was surrounded by a wall dominated by a dovecote. There is a "parc paysager" and another area with a central fountain surrounded by carefully tended garden beds. Topiary work was in vogue: there is a tree cut into the form of a wheel and other trees appear to be pruned to uniform height. There are well tended grassy paths bordered by cement and a raised turf bench protected by wicker work with in the centre a tree trimmed into a ball shape. In the garden are tamed exotic animals and birds.⁵³ There is also a pavilion reached by a noble staircase. The garden is a beautiful pleasure to be walked in, and from the pavilion the animals could be admired as in a theatre.

Pietro de' Crescenzi describes such a park under the heading "De giardini de Re e degli altri ricchi signori". It covered some twenty "giugeri" and is in fact a great theatre such as developed later in Renaissance times.⁵⁴ Twenty

"giugeri" could have amounted to as much as one thousand acres. Crescenzi was possibly not very precise or included the area of the hunting park within his garden limits. The ground chosen was flat, a prerequisite that conjures to mind an Eastern garden rather than one that followed the Roman tradition of making use of the natural contours of the land. Pliny, for example made use of the natural terrain at Como, and at his beloved "mei tusci" he designed his garden to fit in with the natural amphitheatre. His hippodrome combined Roman formality with the surprise element of natural countryside.⁵⁵

Crescenzi was of a different culture. A councillor from Bologna he was a much travelled man and apparently was acquainted with the gardens that Roger II designed at Parco and those of Frederick II who acclimatized in his garden exotics that he had received following his alliances with the Saracens and the Spanish. A certain Eastern flavour is therefore not surprising in Crescenzi. His great garden is the product of a master mind with a theatrical bent. The land is enclosed no longer by hedges but by a suitably high wall to ensure privacy: "si cinga de mura alti quāto si conviene".⁵⁶ To the north, or stage end, is a wood of various species of trees, the habitat for such fauna as hares, rabbits and other non-rapacious animals. Crescenzi also recommends a cage for all types of ornamental and song birds and tanks for fish. The trees are to be planted in groups, each group of one species, a certain way off from the auditorium end of the garden so that the spectators can enjoy watching the animals desport themselves. The auditorium end is composed of a "palagio" or outdoor palace made from intertwined and carefully pruned branches.⁵⁷ The result must have been similar to the Sala delle Asse in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan⁵⁸ where the intricate interlacing of live elm branches forms a bower similar to the beech houses of the English romantic period. Crescenzi suggests cutting windows into the bower to form a type of loggia.⁵⁹ The "palagio" was in fact a Summer palace, a sophisticated version of the "padiglione" which was an adaptation of the pergola that Crescenzi suggests for the gardens of the moderately wealthy.

Certain features of Crescenzi's royal garden combine reality with the Paradise tradition. Perpetual Spring is maintained through the planting of evergreens such as the cypress,⁶⁰ pine and cedar, and exoticism was introduced by grafting and by the presence of certain non-indigenous plants such as the palm. But above all the garden is a Place of Delight: Crescenzi insists that it is legitimate for the king to seek "liciti dilecti" once his stately cares are over and glorify God, the author of his pleasures. The garden, in fact, is a variant of the Fountain of Youth: the royal couple can dally there "quando voranno fugire gravi pensieri e la loro anima dalle grezze rinovare".⁶¹

Planting within the castle precincts varied from place to place. In the Roman de la Rose the enclosure becomes a rose garden fortress. The Chronicle of Morea provides scant information as to planting within the bailey. Sieges tended to be short although that of Nauplion lasted eighteen months.⁶² Gardens are hinted at in an isolated Spring-type opening⁶³ but the impact of this description is to announce fresh conquests, a new military season. The lack of garden descriptions, although disappointing, is to be expected in a chronicle that deals with feats of arms.

The Crac des Chevaliers, too, despite study, proves lacking in details of planting. Covering two and a half hectares⁶⁴ it was the pride of the French until it fell in 1271. At its zenith the Crac was provisioned for two thousand inhabitants. It had its own windmill and a "berquil" used by the cattle and for watering the vegetable gardens. Plans of the Crac show that it possessed a cloister-like gallery adjoining the main hall and opening onto a courtyard.⁶⁵ This area would have made a delightful garden but there is no positive evidence to support the hypothesis. Nevertheless pleasure gardens certainly existed for normal courtly life followed its course between battles.⁶⁶

Other castles provide further scant details as to the existence of gardens. Tripoli withheld siege for seven years, falling only in 1109,⁶⁷ but its provisioning was mainly possible thanks to the magnificent gardens that separated the Frankish development from the Muslim old city that had become

merely an annex to the port. What is certain is that the Holy Land was a place of plenty and its proverbial wealth lent fuel to the "Myth of the Orient". Fouchier de Chartres, chaplain to Baudoin later king of Jerusalem, who went on a reconnaissance trip to the Red Sea mentions a village "au site fort agréable et abondant en ces fruits de palmier qu'on appelle dattes, dont nous nous fîmes un régal toute la journée". Another town, the Biblical Zion, he renamed "Paulmiers" because of the abundance of dates and he also found there the banana palm and the indigo plant.⁶⁸ Antioch, too, was the pride of its mixed population and possessed olives, figs and mulberry trees. Wilbrand d'Oldenburg, a thirteenth century traveller, talks of its people "se promenant dans de frais jardins plantés d'arbres variés et se baignant dans le cours d'eau qui traversaient ces jardins".⁶⁹

From descriptions of crusader castles there appears to be some planting within the walls and certainly fine gardens beyond. The Franks introduced their own culture to the East, for Fouchier de Chartres wrote in 1125: "Dieu a transformé l'Occident en Orient. Celui qui habitait Reims ou Chartres se voit citoyen de Tyr ou d'Antioch."⁷⁰ On the other hand crusaders returning to France introduced there building styles and very likely details of garden planning that they had learnt to love in the East.⁷¹

* * *

In addition to the large walled gardens described by Crescenzi that had no architectural connection to the house and to the relatively confined gardens within the castle precincts such as the walled "praelet" to which Calogrenant is taken,⁷² castles commonly possessed two other types of garden. One was the extensive and not necessarily enclosed "flowery mead" beyond the castle walls used for walking in and for the ever popular joust. The concept of this garden dates at least to the time of Pliny for his garden incorporated a vista of countryside "that could only be the work of nature". Pliny used dry stone walls hidden by tiers of box so that the meadow was an added dimension to the garden.⁷³

The second extended form of garden was the tended woodland, a valuable possession and a place in which to hunt. Such parkland was of Eastern origin: hunting with the falcon was transmitted to the West by the equestrian peoples of Asian plains.⁷⁴ Not only a sport and a source of food, hunting was linked to an archetypal, mythical act. Eliade writes that to hunt is to imitate "un héros mythique, l'incarner restaurer ainsi le temps mythique, sortir de la duree profane, répéter le mythe-histoire".⁷⁵ Poets describe the combination of the idyllic and the real when they write of the dawn hunt in the month of May: then profane time is abolished and a "temps nouveau" dawns. The woodland is an example of this. From an earlier date Charlemagne's Capitulare gives valuable information on the tending of forest land. Long before the great period of forest clearance (c. 1180-1250) woods were seen as both something to be protected and controlled. The forest, a place of recreation and a source of wealth, was measured by the number of pigs it could support, showing the vastness of seigneurial forests that could not be measured in the normal way by bowshot or arpent. Charlemagne's injunction on the protection of his woodland is worth quoting in full:

That our woods and forests be well guarded; and where there is an opportunity for grubbing up trees (assorting), let them organize the grubbing and let them not allow encroachment on the fields from the woodland; and where there ought to be woods, let them not allow excessive felling and damage; and let them keep good watch over our wild game inside the forests; also let them organize falcons and hawks for our taxes with every care. And the state officials (?) if they have sent their pigs into our wood for fattening, and our stewards, or their men, let them be the first to give that tithe to provide a good example, just as hereafter the rest of their men will pay the tithe in full, 76

For Charlemagne, therefore, his woods were as worthy of careful attention as were his enclosed gardens for they too combine the gainful with the enjoyable

* * *

The foregoing description of castle gardens show their form and their importance in day to day life. Gardens were theatres, often a stage on which to be looked. Frequent mention is made of castle folk returning to windows in the evening to "esbanoier", play chess and enjoy the view. In Robert de Boron's Merlin rendered in prose, after a fearfully belligerent tourney, the kings retire to a window to view the flowery mead and the river beyond. At

one with nature the kings talk at random and peace is at last established.⁷⁷

Castle gardens provided an extra room, uncrowded, peaceful. The castle of Eliadus is "bien assise" by a "rivier" where people fish. After dinner the knights go to the water's edge and talk of many things far into the night. The castle also possesses a woodland where songbirds wake the knights with their dawn chorus. Beyond the drawbridge is a flowery mead, dew-spangled in the morning, bright with flowers that give forth a sweet scent.⁷⁸

The notion of a garden as an extended room is at least as old as Greek culture. These gardens were closely associated with buildings and public gardens or gymnasia and were the scene of the development of schools or academies. The name academy comes from the hero Academus whose sanctuary was used for games in his honour. People met there partly for the sports but also for the sake of intellectual conversation. By Plato's time it was so accepted that academies were linked to gardens that the philosopher wanted to use only places that were well-watered. The garden-school of Epicurus is a byword, but little is known of it except that it was beautiful and, according to Pliny, "brought the country into town".

The Greek habit passed to Rome with Cicero who used to walk with his friends, deep in philosophical discussion, in a pleasure park that had nothing in common with the practical garden of the villa rustica. Pliny at Puteoli integrated the portico with the park which he called Academy, after the Athenian model. In fact the Greek peristyle house so influenced gardens in Italy that horticulture and agriculture were integrated and the garden was able to penetrate the townhouse, as at Pompei where the painted peristyle echoed the actual layout of the garden. A point was reached where Greek influence was criticized: Columella reproved the Roman habit of wanting all "that the Greeks had in their gymnasium".⁷⁹

A similar phenomenon took place in the East: Alexander, as other oriental princes, did business and received his generals in a Paradise. He sat on a golden throne just as did Charlemagne and Marsile in the Chanson de

Roland. After 750 Cordoba became the capital of the Arab empire in Spain and wonderful compartmentalized gardens were developed. These series of enclosed gardens, suggestive of the Roman de la Rose made full use of the surprise element. Each enclosure tended to be reserved for one or two species, but although the planting was geometrical, the vegetation was assymetrical. Arab gardens were also influenced by conquered countries and the patio itself appears as a filiation to Hellenistic and Roman gardens.

In the medieval pleasure gardens, there are certain similarities to the classical tradition and to Arab custom. This can be seen especially in the use made of these parks for they often took the place of an extra room. In the Queste the lady of Galvoie welcomes her knight Bohort: "Quant il orent mangiet a grant feste. si semenerent bohort pour esbatre en un uergier pour le serain. Si sa(s)sistrent".⁸⁰

Life in the garden must have been intensely soothing after the lack of privacy of the castle proper. In the Livre de Lancelot del Lac there is a typical example of the garden as a place for playing chess, walking and talking: "Lors sallerent iouer et esbatre entre messire gauvain et la dame et sa fille en vng moult bel prael qui estoit au dessoubz de la salle. si fait la demoiselle apporter leschiquer et les eschetz si commencerent a iouer entre elle et messire gauvain. Et quant ilz eurent une piece ioue tant que il leur pleut si lesserent le Ieu des eschetz et sallerent iouer aval le vergier qui auait grant enciente."⁸¹ There they walk and talk together and there Gauvain has a happy reunion with his brother Gahariet. Walking in gardens has a universal appeal, especially to ease tension. When Haroun was plagued with sleeplessness, a walk in the garden was the first cure offered to that ruler who lacked peace of mind.⁸²

Paths have at most times been a feature of gardens. The Egyptians had straight walks to fit in with the rectilinear design of their gardens. In Roman times the "ambulatio" was prepared with the greatest care: sometimes it was open, sometimes covered by a portico. From it one had various calculatedly

beautiful vistas of the garden. Although quite different in design, in purpose it can be compared to the paths of eighteenth century English gardens: from both planned perspectives were fixed ahead. In the medieval gardens, paths were not lacking. Crescenzi advocates the designing of paths shaded by cherries, apples, willows, "obedilli" or elms, and because the garden is to be used for walking in and not merely for contemplation, he recommends that the trees should not be planted too close together lest the walker be bothered by cobwebs.⁸³ The Roman de la Rose possesses at least one path, and by the precision that it was straight and to the right it is implied that there may have been other paths or even a crossing of the ways like in Persian gardens or in their distant connections, the medieval cloister gardens:

Lors m'en alai tot droit a destre
par mi une petite sente
plaine de fenoil et de mente.⁸⁴

The path has been deliberately planted to render it attractive and it also links the woodland garden where the revellers dance to the separate "destor" of the fountain and pine. The enchanted garden of Erec et Enide also has a path which Erec takes as he approached the maiden lying on her golden couch,⁸⁵ and Chaucer specifies that the walks in the garden of Troilus and Creseyde were covered with sand:

This yerd was large, and rayled all the aleys,
And shadowed well with blosmy bowes grene,⁸⁶
And benched new, and sanded all the wayes.

It is sometimes supposed that in Europe, as opposed to England, walks were relatively uncommon, yet this hardly seems the case and there are even suggestions that in Europe paths were also sanded or covered with fine gravel.

Gardens were also an extension of the great hall or refectory, a favoured spot in which to eat. Many adventures end amicably with erstwhile enemies enjoying abundant food outdoors spread on fine cloths, the meal being followed in some instances by a rest on rich beds. At times the horses, too, partake of suitable fare.⁸⁷ This theme of peace being sealed by open air feasting is evident in the episode of Perceval and Abrioris. Perceval is the

intruder to a private garden and acts in a rather outrageous fashion: he kills the guarding lion, terrifies a maiden and then overcomes her knight. Yet when peace is established tables are set up in the garden by the central fountain and all picnic on the fresh green grass.⁸⁸

In Huon de Bordeūx, the hero has doubts about the magical powers of Auberon's horn and tests it in a "vregié" although there is no danger. Auberon is forgiving and supplies the men with food:

Vitaille avoient qu'Auberons lor carca;
Les napes misent, li mengiers commencha,⁸⁹
Li bons hanas du vin asés livra.

Loomis⁹⁰ has rightly connected this episode with the horns used in Welsh banquets, particularly with the horn of Bran that brought abundance. A comparable episode is that of "La Pucele au Cor d'Ivoire" in the Continuation.⁹¹ After a stormy night the weather clears and Gauvain riding along filled with happiness at the birdsong meets a girl with a horn. All is consonant with the surroundings: the girl is singing love songs and the horn itself is worked with flowers. At the sound of the damsel winding her horn, over one hundred maidens appear and lay out a picnic banquet under a magnificent tree that could shade over one hundred knights. After the meal Gauvain recovers the horn from a knight who tried to steal it, and when he returns it to the maiden all are filled with great joy. In both episodes it is the sound of the horn that brings abundance and a confusion seems to have occurred between the blast horn and the drinking horn or horn of plenty. Yet in Huon de Bordeūx the notion of abundance is there in Auberon's magic "hanap" that gave forth wine in quantity. In the episode of "La Pucele au Cor d'Ivoire" the motif of "joie" can also be compared to that at the conclusion of Chrétien's "Joie de la Cort". Perhaps it is merely that plenty and happiness are almost synonymous in an agricultural community. What is certain is that the maiden's horn gives comfort and sustenance, for whoever possesses it: "N'avra ne froit ne fain ne soi".⁹²

Colin Musget has a positively lucullan attitude towards gardens. Although his loved one is present, he is less interested in her than in the enormous

spread that somehow materializes:

Et j'ai oies et gastel,
 Poissons, tartes et porcel,
 Boef a la verde savor,
 Et j'ai de vin en tonel
 Froit et fort et friendel⁹³
 Por boire a la grant cholor.

Naturally he enjoys playing in the meadow rather than staying in an unhappy house. Musset's intensely down to earth attitude to physical enjoyment contrasts most vividly with the banquet in the introduction to the Symposium of Methodius. The latter is in a garden with ever-blossoming sweet-scented flowers. The breeze is gentle, light and shadow form a regular pattern and profound peace reigns as the maidens dine beneath the spreading "chaste-tree". It is, in fact, compared to the "bliss of a new Eden",⁹⁴ a place of utterly refined enjoyment, fitting to a book that condemns sensuality.

The garden of Floire's father where the children play and dine is a reflection of the awakening sensuality of the young people. The garden is characterized by all sorts of flowers and shrubs of different colours and is filled with birds singing love songs. When Floire and Blancheflor eat there: "Li oisel sur euls se seoient".⁹⁵ It is a pretty picture of innocence and intimateness in a spot that ensures privacy for the children. It is a little surprising that the only plant named in this garden is the mandrake that from early times until almost the present day has been shrouded in superstition. Already Theophrastus, a pupil of Aristotle's ridiculed the legends invented by the Greek herbalists to maintain a trade-monopoly.⁹⁶ Yet Theophrastus could not eliminate superstition and in the fifth century Herbarium of pseudo-Apuleius the myth that the plant has human limbs is added to previous folk-lore. However Rabanus Maurus glosses "mandragorae" as "bonae famaе",⁹⁷ a connotation that has some bearing in our context, for one of the things Floire and Blancheflor have to contend with is the "bad reputation" attached to Blancheflor's uncertain origins.

Eating in gardens was made more comfortable by the use of seats. Sometimes these were portable and throne-like as in the Chanson de Roland or in

the garden of the "Carole of Love".⁹⁸ More often the seats were turfed benches, as in Chaucer's Merchants' Tale. These sometimes encircled a tree. Crescenzi's garden of the wealthy would have had such seats, and Albertus Magnus is specific about their construction: "Inter quas herbas et caespitem in extremitate caespitis per quadrum elevation sit caespitem florens et amoenus et quasi per medium sedilium aptatus, cum quo reficiendi sensus, et homines insideant ad delectabiliter quiescendum."⁹⁹

* * *

The aforementioned descriptions of castle gardens show them to be a highly developed adjunct to medieval life. Now is the time to consider to what they were opposed and what light they throw on thirteenth century life and its social justice or injustice.

Castle gardens were a retreat from the strife of war, a grim reality from the time of the fifth century barbarian invasions. The tenth century also, with the advent of the Norsemen, was a time of insecurity and economic distress.¹⁰⁰ In the intervening period savage bickerings between warrior lords were a constant bane. Heavy carts followed the armies to carry booty and pilfered goods. Massacre and mutilation were the order of the day. Those excepted were the owners of castles rich enough to ransom themselves with good hard coin; as for the townsfolk and peasants, they could only work and feed themselves in interludes of peace.

Wace gives vivid descriptions of the Trojans landing in France and breaking the sanctity of the king's forest. Brutus is victorious in the ensuing war and takes savage revenge: "Tutes les terres ad guastes, / Les viles arses et robes".¹⁰¹ Certain battle scenes were as horrific as trench warfare:

Tute est de sanc l'erbe vermeille
Et ço n'esteit mie merveille,
Kar li vif sur les mors esteient,¹⁰²
E sur les morz se combateient.

Sleeping men were killed and dismembered, widows sold and the country left lifeless.¹⁰³

Ruined towns had their impact on literature. Renaut de Beaujeu describes

the "Cité Gaste" of Senaudon in Wales, its streets deserted, its palaces and towers crumbling.¹⁰⁴ Loomis believes the description to be based on the Roman ruins of Segontum.¹⁰⁵ The spell is averted by a kiss which also reveals to Guiglain his name and ancestry. This appears to be an attenuated version of the potency of the lord destroying an evil spell over the land or ensuring its fertility.¹⁰⁶ This is a nature myth; the Greek equivalent were the Adonis gardens with the underlying concept of death/rebirth.

In Arthurian romance the emasculation of the Fisher King or his father leads to the death of the country about. "Rebirth" can take place through the sexual act or some other form of atonement. In the Queste Lancelot sleeps with the daughter of King Pellès, Helaine. Galaad is conceived and fertility restored to "la terre foraine" that had been destroyed by "le dolerous cop".¹⁰⁷ In the Continuation the restoration of fertility to Biaurepaire is linked to the courtship and marriage of Perceval and Blanchefleur.¹⁰⁸

Other acts performed or questions asked can restore health and prosperity. In the Continuation, after the hero has partially mended the sword at the Grail Castle, the wasteland is transformed into a magnificent meadow, site of Paradise. He has also restored joy and plenty to the castle of Cothoatre. Its newfound fertility is symbolized by the alluring contours of its lady. She had "Les rainsargetes par delit / Pour mius sosfrir le ju del lit".¹⁰⁹

Partial success in the Grail Quest was also achieved by Gauvain on his second visit there. He cannot put together the broken sword, a stroke of which had caused the wasteland, and he fails to ask the use of the Grail that served seven courses of food and moved around with no hand holding it, but he did ask about the bleeding lance. This question causes the "roialmes destruis" to be modified: at midnight God had restored water to the land and greenness to the forest:

Mais ainc d'iex ne fu esgardee
Nule terre si bien garnie
De bois, d'iaue, de prairie.¹¹⁰

It is a land similar to that described by Isaiah:

for water gushes in the desert,
streams in the wasteland,
the scorched earth becomes a lake,¹¹¹
the parched land springs of water.

Apart from war and impotency the wasteland has connotations of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah or that of Babylon where thorns and weeds mark desolation and loneliness. In Label's vision from L'Estoire the desert lands are the sins of man.¹¹² Also the misuse of King David's sword from the ship of Solomon is, in later version of the Grail legend, the cause of "la terre gaste". In La Mort Artus Urlain cleft Lambar, the father of the maimed King.¹¹³ In L'Estoire misuse of this sword, that of the "etranges ranges", has the identical effect.¹¹⁴ Only the peerless are permitted to use it. The sin of audacity leads to desolation of the land.

Sin and barrenness go hand in hand in the Chevalier au Barisel. That knight never heard Mass nor fasted. An evil lord, he laid waste the country killing pilgrims, robbing merchants and not even sparing abbots.¹¹⁵ The barren countryside reflects the sterility of his heart; his fortress represents his isolation and fear of neither an earthly nor heavenly overlord. The Evil One, it follows, is also the cause of desolation. In the Queste, Lancelot in a hermitage is witness to the devil laying waste the country by a mighty storm.¹¹⁶ In the Continuacion, the hero passes through a "gaste contree" where the people had been so burnt that they were blacker than moors and so poor that they were forced to eat roots and wild fruit, and little enough even of that fare. Perceval fights "cil au dragon" who has caused this desolation. The battle takes place, strangely enough, near a huge tree, more beautiful than anyone could find until Calabria, but perhaps its luxuriousness anticipates the restoration of fertility to the land once the Evil One is defeated.¹¹⁷

The wasteland caused by the reality of medieval warfare is apparent in literature,¹¹⁸ although sometimes the reason given for barrenness is transposed onto a moral plane and explained by evil or a broken taboo. An underlying notion is that sacred kingship is associated with fertility or with its refined form the castle garden.

Beside country laid waste by war there are other conflicts associated with the castle garden that reflect its social importance: there is the opposition of inside/outside where the physical situation may have moral or psychological implications.

A case in point is Arthur's court in general which opens out onto the world. Wace in his description of Karliun depicts a garden-like nature: the town lies on a navigable river filled with fish over which visitors can cross. On the other side of the river is a game forest, and there are meadows and cultivated lands. The poem continues:

Pur les riches herbergemenz
 E pur les granz aaisemenz,
 Pur les bels bois, pur les bels prez.
 Pur les bels lieus qu vus oez,¹¹⁹
 Vout Artur la sa curt tenir.

The adjectives sum up the bountiful nature and Arthur preparing for his coronation, at one with his people.

Frequently Arthur's knights also pass easily from the garden to the outside world. Lancelot before his knighting goes with the royal couple to a river garden adjoining the great hall. It is after vespers on the eve of St. John, a time of wonders. Returning from the garden Lancelot sees a knight who has in his body two spear heads and a sword in his head.¹²⁰ This is the start to Lancelot's first adventure for he claims he will avenge the knight, withdraw the weapons and restore him to health. The idle pleasures of the garden have opened onto the outside world of chivalry.

At another time Lancelot, on his way to the court of Bademaguz, spends the night at the Castel de la Fleche. It is: "moult bien seans. Car de lune part coroit vns bras de mer. et de lautre part estoit auironnes de praeries. et de fores et de bones gaa(i)ng(ne)ries. mais de vignes y auoit il moult pau. mais neporquant en la grant bertaigne auoit asses vignes qui faillerent quant lez granz merueilles del saint graal furent descouertes a tous Si com chis livres deuisera cha avant".¹²¹ The description is puzzling: it associates the castle to that of the Grail through lack of vines. Why? Also the Castel de la

Fleche is not isolated like the Grail Castle. One would furthermore expect an abundance of all once the Grail story is unravelled and the wasteland restored to plenty. However the baccic connotations of the vine revived within the Christian tradition were firm throughout the middle ages despite the fact that the plant also stood for Christ.¹²² Because of the ambiguity associated with the vine, tainted with associations of human excess, the Castel de la Fleche is free of it and, once the Grail mysteries are revealed, all of Britain will be similarly purified. Lancelot at the Castel de la Fleche with its few vines comes close to bridging the gap to the "new" world to be established when the Grail wasteland gives way an uncorrupted land.

Another example where Arthur and his men are not confined to the inside/outside motif associated with the garden is when Arthur lays seige to the castle of Brun le Branlant who has refused to pay homage. The place is rich with orchards, vineyards, rivers and hunting parks,¹²³ but within the castle provisions run low for Arthur has taken homage in kind. Lore and Ysau de Cahares from the tower plead to Yvain in their distress and he, with the king's permission, sends them provisions.¹²⁴ But the seige continues until one evening Yvain goes out riding:

La vile aloit veant entor
Tant qu'il vint desoz la tor,¹²⁵
Et s'arestut el pre flori.

Here in the flowery mead beneath the tower¹²⁶ he hears the maidens crying softly from hunger. Touched by their distress he sends them dainties and meats in such abundance that the laden horse can barely stand upright beneath the weight. Yvain in the flowery mead bridges different worlds: his compassion leads to a union despite the barriers of warfare.

The lack of opposition between outside and inside that applies to Arthur's court denotes a moral goodness. The same is true of the castle of Cadrovain in L'Atre Périlleux with its marvels of tamed nature and all delights for hunting: "Rivieres et fores et pars".¹²⁷ It is unenclosed, integrated into the world and in total opposition to the deceptively garden-like

environment of path and hornbeams which Escanor the bad turns into a battlefield when he fights Gauvain¹²⁸ after having broken a cultural taboo.

Closely associated to the opening garden representing goodness is its link to joy as typified by Guillaume de Dole. Félix Lecoy aptly calls Jean Renart a "chroniqueur mondain"¹²⁹ and he excels in word pictures of the happiest aspects of the middle ages. The garden extends to encompass life. During the summer hunt knights were accompanied by ladies attired in fashionable silk "samiz" and "draz d'or emperials" with on their heads love tokens of garlands of feathers and flowers. After the day's sport is done the revellers go singing to "tentes jonchiees"¹³⁰ and, after a civilized rest, towards tierce they walk through the woods "toz dechaut, manches descousues",¹³¹ to a fountain. The sensuous word "deduit" is used for their delight in this ideal retreat¹³² and the whole scene is one of courtly pass-times.

The poem is strewn with snatches of song from Jaufré Rudel which form a refrain of "joie de vivre". When Guillaume farewells his family in words reminiscent of Chrétien's Perceval,¹³³ he sets off with a heavy heart for the emperor's court. But on the ride his spirits are stirred by the music of the birds and he and his companions burst into a song of distant love, of May, and of that strangely reassuring plant, the hawthorn:¹³⁴ "Lors que li jor sont lonc en mai, / m'est biaux doz chant d'oiseil de lonc".¹³⁵ This love, fed from the joys of a soul close to nature echoes through Jean Renart: "Grant chose est d'amer par amors, / que l'en en est plus fin cortois".¹³⁶ In these marvellous "caroles a danser" action, "amitie" and "joie" are integrated against the backdrops of the garden:

La jus desouz l'olive,
ne vos repentez mie,
fontaine i sourt serie:¹³⁷
Puceles, carolez!

Olive and fountain suggest a garden ruled by the young and unrepentant. The Garden of Love is close. It is also in the song that comes to the Emperor of Cologne as he leans from a castle window at evening listening to birdsong.

Quant de la foelle espoissent li vergier,
que l'herbe est vert et la rose espanie,

et au matin oi le chant commencier
 dou roissignol qui par le bois s'escrie,
 lors ne me sai vers Amors consellier,
 car onques n'oi d'autre richece envie,
 for que d'amors,
 ne riens (fors li) ne m'en puet fere aie.¹³⁸

This is specified as exemplifying "fin amors".¹³⁹ Love, landscape, birdsong, and the expression of all these come together.

In Guillaume de Dole there is no opposition to the castle garden, neither is there in other instances in literature where it assumes its traditional value as a place of reunion, reconciliation and welcome. In La Mort Artus landscape reflects a state of mind as when Lancelot at "lostel a la dame", aunt of the Maid of Escalot, recovers from wounds inflicted by Bors at Guincestre. Health of mind and body come together as the following quotation implies: "Et Lancelos estoit adont en la court et saloit esbatant et deduisant par la cort, entre lui et le prodomme ki gari laut, et si estoit li chevaliers qui auoec lui estoit venus au Tornoiemment, ki en cele maladie li auoit si grant compaignie portee que onques ne le uot laissier ne au main ne au soir."¹⁴⁰ Health and companionship are fittingly described by the words "esbatent et deduisent", and the "cort" is the scene of a joyful reunion between companions at arms and a prelude to Lancelot's return to courtly life.

This is also the case when Evaine, mother of the lost Lionel and Bohort, has a reassuring dream of reunion just before her death. She sees an enclosed garden with sumptuous houses set within a wood. The environment is joyful when she sees there three beautiful children, two of which she suspects are her own. She awakes to find her surmise confirmed: their names and that of Lancelot are written on her right hand. Happy to know her children are safe, she cries with joy.¹⁴¹ The garden is the setting of the Lady of the Lake's palace which magically provides roses for the children to wear garlands in all seasons.¹⁴²

In the Livre de Lancelot del Lac Bohort, victor of a tournament, causes friendship to be established between the foes Gaidon and Mariale. Peace was consummated after dinner: "si sallerent esbatre en vng moult bel vergier qui

dessoubs la grant tour estoit et sasserent dessoubz vn oliuier moult bel quilz trouuerent".¹⁴³ The olive enforces the symbolism of quiet conversation after warfare.

In Ami et Amile the final episode, as other crucial ones, takes place in a garden. Healed of leprosy, Ami returns to his own lands and is greeted by Lubias who dresses herself in fine attire and goes down from the palace to greet the husband she has so wronged:

Li cuens Amis au gent cors avenant
Estoit deduire en un vergier avant,
Et Lubias ne fu pas demorans, ¹⁴⁴
La descendi ...

She greets him with an affectionate "Ami, biaux frere" as if nothing had happened. At first angered, he packs her off to the hovel that had been his refuge when a leper and makes her eat humble pie: "Un quartiret de pain et ne mie trop grant".¹⁴⁵ No venison, pork nor claret for her. But this is only a token gesture: after eight days she receives back all her "tenement". It was, in fact, in the garden that peace and reconciliation were achieved before the finale of the poem, the pilgrimage.

Another example of the castle garden where the inside/outside motif is absent in psychological terms is in the episode of the Magic Fountain in Chrétien's Chevalier au Lion. There is, however, opposition to the garden in the strait way through the thick forest, the "voie felensse"¹⁴⁶ with its brambles and thorns, that leads to the garden of the friendly vavassor. Yet Calogrenant is given respite with the vavassor before and even after his unsuccessful adventure at the fountain, and the daughter courteously offers Calogrenant fresh clothing and leads him to relax "el plus bel praelet del monde, / clos de bas mur a la reonde".¹⁴⁷ In fact the "way of the cross" to the vavassor's house is blessed "plus de set foix en un tenant".¹⁴⁸

The episode of the friendly vavassor illustrates the theme, common to medieval literature, of the garden surrounded by rough forest. This bringing together of opposites was based on the famous Vale of Tempe in Greece where the wild and the tamed came together. Curtius who, in general, is of this opinion

concludes: "We must, nevertheless, assume that the specialized Tempe motif, as we found it in Theocritus (pleasance in a wild wood) also passed into the rhetorical tradition."¹⁴⁹ Curtius is discussing Latin literature, a more inflexible form than vulgate romances and elsewhere he asserts that medieval descriptions of nature were not meant to represent reality.¹⁵⁰ Two things, however, need to be restated: medieval authors combined real elements with the rhetorical tradition and added to this the salt of their own originality. They had a debt to, and reacted against, what came before; and what they in their turn created led to other artistic inspiration. The formal gardens of Villa Lante, Castello and Petraia were accompanied by wild woodlands, and, in a more artificial form, there are the surprise elements of an apparently untouched copse in English eighteenth century gardens. Even Charlemagne made an injunction to keep the forest ordered but at bay,¹⁵¹ so in a way, he too, wanted a form of willed wildness.

* * *

In general there is inside/outside opposition in the castle garden when it represents a place of refuge "far from the madding crowd" of the great hall, a place of conversation and rebirth, an outside room. It is opposed to the strife and ugliness of war; where goodness rules, it opens onto the world. The garden also represents inclusion/exclusion in a moral sense: it is a hallowed place into which the unworthy cannot penetrate. Also, however, there are occasions more difficult to classify when the inside/outside motif is yet strong.

One is the story of Lore de Branlant who sits solitary at a window overlooking the garden, outside and not part of it, while her knights carouse "ioant et gabant lun a lautre"¹⁵² in the great hall. Fearing her aggressor Gaudin, she is unimpressed when Gauvain comes to her rescue passing himself off as Daguenet le Coart. Gauvain is slighted, isolated from the knights; at their meal he sits, like Lore, at a window overlooking the beautiful environment.¹⁵³ But in his city hostel, before and after his victorious tourney, he invites, in a Biblical way, all and sundry to his feast where there are games in the "cort"

or garden. The festive atmosphere and numerous lights make the whole house seem ablaze.¹⁵⁴ Yet Gauvain, the hero, later is as much an outsider as the vanquished Gaudin who has his base "en une prairie deïoste un bois".¹⁵⁵ Gauvain, virtually wiping the town's dust from his feet, hears the merrymaking of the women who begin "les queroles & les tresches parmi les rues de ioie"¹⁵⁶ but waits apart "en loreille de la forest".¹⁵⁷ Both Lore and Gauvain are "outside": outside the garden, outside union with each other although Gauvain is the saviour of the town, outside the garden-type festivities of the townsfolk. "Outside" shows an almost psychological malaise: the assumed role of Dageunet le Coart has killed all courtly behaviour and Lore has not the perspicacity to discover the reality.

A more exotic example of outside/inside is Huon de Bordeaux's entry into the garden of the Emir at Babylon or old Cairo. The description of Babylon could be influenced by Wace but more likely draws its flavour from the Constantinople of the Pèlerinage de Charlemagne: flirting maidens, chess players, revellers and smiths all add richness to the scene of a bustling community,¹⁵⁸ of a medieval town on a feast day. After this vivid word picture, the isolation of the Emir's garden is all the more remarkable. Its beauties are anticipated by the description of the marvellous pine set on pillars of pure gold:

Emmi la voie avoit un pin planté
 Qui fu assis sour cinquante piliers,¹⁵⁹
 Qui tout estoient de fin or esmeré;

This description of a raised growing tree appears unique in literature but may have been influenced by some misty recollection of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon cross fertilized with descriptions of other oriental trees that were coated in bronze and copper to give them added splendour.

Huon is amazed by the tree but passes on and manages to negotiate the four successive drawbridges thanks to his possession of an otherworld token and to his own guile. When Huon enters the garden it is eerie and deserted for the Emir is within feasting with his company. Nonetheless the garden is full of

wonders:

Dix ne fist arbre qui peüst fruit porter
 Que il n'eüst ens el vregiet planté.
 Une fontaine i cort par son canel,
 De paradis vient li rius, sans fauser.
 Il n'est nus hom qui de mere soit nés,
 Qui tant soit vieus ne quenus ne mellés,
 Que, se il puet el ruis ses mains laver 160
 Que lues ne soit meschins et bacelers.

It is the union of three separate elements that arouses the imagination: firstly a garden of all fruit, secondly a stream that comes from Paradise and thirdly a Fountain of Youth that turns a man back towards boyhood and a woman once more into a maiden.

Gardens of all plants, long before the time of the first botanical garden in the sixteenth century, were a thing to be desired. The Courtois d'Arras uses the phrase "Soz ciel n'a herbe qui li faille"¹⁶¹ to describe such a garden. Xenophon mentions how Cyrus in Syria came to a marvellous garden, a "very large and beautiful park containing all the products of the seasons".¹⁶²

The combination of a garden of all fruits and a river that comes from Paradise inevitably brings to mind Genesis, and this is born out by the rejuvenating aspects of the fountain, for when Adam and Eve were forced from Eden they became subject to the ravages of time. In medieval times, as in modern times, the myth of objects or potions associated with youth was extremely popular.¹⁶³ Furthermore the fountain in Huon is the secular counterpart of the waters of Baptism, an agent for physical rather than spiritual rebirth and rejuvenation. Also in Huon de Bordeux the fountain is guarded by a serpent,¹⁶⁴ a parallel to that which lured Eve at the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

In the edenic tradition the garden of Huon is a place of trial. True he is saved from the serpent by his marvellous hauberk, but when he blows Auberon's horn it is to no avail. Huon must carry out unaided the near impossible tasks, the labours of Hercules, imposed on him by Charlemagne. The "vregiet ramé" is the central point in Huon de Bordeux: many more incidents take place before the suitably satisfactory finale. Unlike Gauvain, Huon gained entry into the garden, but he was unworthy to remain within this distorted other Eden.

A third example of the multivalence of the inside/outside motif of the garden is from the Livre de Lancelot del Lac where the hero unwittingly commits a sin of infidelity to Guinevere and sleeps with Pelleas' daughter. Lancelot passes through chaos of mind and the turning point to his recovery is his return to Cobernec. He stays there unknown for a year until one day Helaine recognises him in the garden where he had gone to sleep beside a fountain.¹⁶⁵ This is the crucial part to the episode: a garden, water, sleep are all hints at a renewal of the spirit. However the road to recovery is slow and entails healing by the Grail in the Perilous Castle. In the morning Lancelot breaks his fetters and looks out onto the "verger" where he had previously killed a serpent.¹⁶⁶ But a passive participant in all that this garden stands for, Lancelot is almost a "voyeur" onto his own chivalrous past. His total rehabilitation from social chaos comes only after the story of Lille de Joie:¹⁶⁷ after his heroic attitude there he is recognised by his companions at arms and reintegrated into society. The elements of this episode bear tracing: Lancelot's decline, sensuality, madness, isolation; the plateau of his sickness, motifs of cave and hermitage; his ascent, the garden in parenthesis around the Grail, the garden island that leads him back to the Queen's court. Thus the garden was a turning point on the way to health, to freedom from the prison of madness, a transition between the world of madness and that of court and love.

Associated with the inside/outside motif of the garden is that of within as opposed to without: the garden, at its most exclusive, is a prison. A form of this is the castle of Lestroite March surrounded by a river, forests, and a morass that Hector approached. Hector has to dismount to climb the rocky stronghold, and this adventure is vividly described: "Et quant il vient au pie de la roche si deschent. & monte la roche a pie & maine son cheaul apres lui. se a moult caut. & est moult la(s)ses auant quil veigne a mi lieu de la roche. tant que il ne puet en auant aler a pie. si remonte en son cheaul a grant paine & cheualche tant que il vient a la porte del chastel si entra ens."¹⁶⁸

Furthermore, because of its evil customs it is as difficult to get out as to enter.

Similarly in the Livre de Lancelot del Lac¹⁶⁹ the hero, to deliver Mordred from prison, has to fight Belias, his brother, then ten knights in order to climb the castle steps and once Lancelot is pushed down. But eventually he succeeds in the ascent and enters the "palais". He wanders about and comes to "vn iarding desous vne tor" where four armed sergeants guard Mordred who is in irons. Lancelot puts the men to flight and frees Mordred. Here the garden was a prison, enclosed and extremely difficult of access.

In Gui de Warewic Raimbrun goes in search of Amis de la Montaigne who is prisoner of "Un chevalier faẽ de la forest / Qui d'arme faees se revest"¹⁷⁰ and who cannot be wounded by mortal arms. His kingdom is a land of no return beyond the enchanted boundaries of a forest. Those who, like Amis, unwittingly pass "Les mercs de la forest"¹⁷¹ are automatically his prisoners. Raimbrun, despite being called "fol hardis"¹⁷² sets out to attempt the adventure. He passes the perilous bounds to the forest, then, like Gilgamesh, penetrates a passage through a mountain. Doors mysteriously close behind him and the transition to the fairy realm is achieved under the awesome cover of darkness.¹⁷³ Then a sight as marvellous as that in Gilgamesh greets Raimbrun. Beyond waters lies a garden island crowned by a splendid castle:

Une place veit dedanz enclose
 Mult par ert bele e de herbe encrue,
 Tant bele place ne fu onc veue;
 Tutes les herbes del munt i furent,
 Que nule vertu u dulzur eurent,
 (E les especes que getent flaur¹⁷⁴
 Espes cresseient tut entour.)

It appears to be a garden Paradise in the tradition of the Garden of Love with green grass, all the herbs of the world, sweet scent and unsurpassed birdsong.

Devant la porte estut un arbre,
 Tuz les oisels od lur duz chanz
 Nuit e jur i furent mananz.
 De chascun estrument i oisez le tuen,¹⁷⁵
 Chascun divers en out le suen.

Such trees covered with birds that sing with different voices, or in this case

like different instruments, are not uncommon in medieval literature and will be discussed later. They add a paradisiacal note and increase in the beholder the number of senses gratified.

However the most striking feature of this fairy world is that it is almost impossible to enter or leave it freely. The poet seems to enjoy adding one cosmic barrier to the last: firstly the bounds to the forest, then the darkened passage through the mountain, thirdly a perilous water crossing. Raimbrun cannot measure its depth with his sword, but courageously he puts his trust in God and in the strength of his horse. He makes a heroic crossing, literally beneath the water, for "L'eue l'enclost par sum le healme"¹⁷⁶ but succeeds in reaching the garden side at the cost of swallowing large quantities of water. Touchingly his horse is given its share of praise as fittingly happens from time to time in medieval literature.

This castle that combines reality with otherworld elements is Amis' prison where he is guarded by one not born of woman¹⁷⁷ in a palace of eternal youth:

Cest palais tele vertu a:
 Ja home dedenz ne eveillera,
 Si cent mil anz i fuissez,¹⁷⁸
 Ja le plus vielz ne serriez.

It is an ironic twist to the quest for eternal youth to find it here used as an element of torture: death cannot bring respite to the prisoner.

Raimbrun in penetrating the prison has achieved an epic quest, something that no man before him was ever able to do, unless led there captive by the fairy lord of the island. Now it remains for him to escape from the enchanted garden with Amis. A fearsome battle ensues between Raimbrun and the master of the castle, but eventually Raimbrun is victorious thanks to the noble Warewic blood in his veins and to a special sword that he took from the palace. He and Amis are saved and all the captives of the fairy lord delivered.

Echoing certain aspects of medieval life, the castle garden is also depicted as a place of danger, even treachery. In the C. O. F. P. this is linked to the motifs of intrusion and reconciliation. Perceval enters the

welcoming castle of Abrioris which is strewn with fresh grass and sees out of the windows a meadow as lovely as had ever been seen. It is within the castle enclosed by high, strong walls and is a pleasance with fountain, pavilion and sweet-smelling cypress.¹⁷⁹ Under the tree by the tent lies a lion which attacks Perceval like a watchdog but is slain. A maiden in the tent screams and her knight unsuccessfully fights Perceval. The Tent of Love has been disturbed and the blood of a beloved pet shed.¹⁸⁰ Yet all ends amicably with a picnic at tables on the fresh green grass by the fountain "Qui molt iert belle et clere et saine".¹⁸¹ The intruder, cause of danger, is forgiven.

In some books the only mention of a garden is with the implication of danger and treachery. For example in Wace's Roman de Brut the word "vergier" only appears once, when the British King Constantin is ostensibly taken out to a garden to converse by one of his household. The king is not on the defensive but relaxed and taken off his guard when the traiterous Pict suddenly draws a knife and stabs him.¹⁸² Similarly in Renaut de Beaujeu's Le Bel Inconnu Claire tells how she visited her father's garden by the palace in the early morning: "En un vergier hui main entrai / Et por moi deduire i alai".¹⁸³ It was a visit of delight, but the sanctuary was violated by giants who, waiting by the entrance, found the door unlocked and took Claire off with them. The motif that the giants laid waste the countryside¹⁸⁴ is in contrast to the idea of a tranquil garden: it intensifies the sensation that privacy has been invaded and the girl taken from safety. However the tale ends on a happy note: the giants are defeated by Guinglain and the hero and his friends have a merry picnic from the giants' stores. Even the horses have their share, "blé a plenté".¹⁸⁵ Even animals are not safe in a garden setting. In the C. O. F. P. Perceval the hero, crosses swift water to arrive at the safety of a castle enclosure. He hitches his horse to a wonderful tree, "Molt bel, onques ne vit plus gent",¹⁸⁶ and climbs the tower where he finds a table all prepared. But before Perceval eats he takes the bridle off his horse so that it can graze in the meadow "au serein".¹⁸⁷ But the "serein" is deceptive for the giant, owner

of the castle, appears and cudgels the poor horse to death before attacking Perceval.¹⁸⁸

The safety of gardens is often unsure. Yvain in the Livre de Lancelot del Lac takes "vne vies voie & debatue"¹⁸⁹ through the Forest Aventureuse to what should have been the protection of a "cort"¹⁹⁰ and tower surrounded by earthworks and ditches. But the place is besieged by robbers and the squire who owns the castle fears they have killed his mother and violated his sister. Twelve (notice the figure, one of completion) robbers are killed and two flee: social justice is done by Yvain now, and again immediately after when he rescues a damsel hanging by her tresses from an oak.¹⁹¹

So, too, in Gerbert de Montreuil in the episode of the Castle of Evil Welcome Perceval arrives at a place which should have been one of safety: a "prael" below a tower on which grew a tree so mighty that five horses were tied to it.¹⁹² In this garden or meadow Perceval is forced to joust with five knights who want to dishonour him by taking his armour, his proof of knightly valour. There is also water in this meadow, "une mare parfonde", into which Perceval succeeds in throwing an opponent.¹⁹³ Perceval came to the castle merely seeking hospitality and instead he was forced to defend himself against five aggressors.

In Ami et Amile where the main episodes take place in gardens, scenes of danger and treachery occur. Early one morning the Emperor visits his "vergier" where he is accosted by the traitor Hardré who tries to convince him to dismiss the friends from court with an insulting pay off of "cent livres de deniers". For once Charlemagne is not tricked but calls Hardré "felon" and sends him packing.¹⁹⁴ Peril is momentarily averted. Later Hardré meets Amile in what appears to be the same garden and attempts to lure him with honeyed words, but Amile angrily rejects any friendship.¹⁹⁵ Amile, although newly warned about "li losengiers" aggravates Hardré's enmity by his bluntness. Hardré will wait until he has proof that Amile has slept with Belissant and then seek the young man's blood. The garden, sketched as economically as those in Roland, was

a place for relaxed conversation but where the protagonists could be caught out unawares.

The woodland park of a great town, even as the castle garden, could be a place of danger. Gombaut de Loheraine, a mortal enemy of Charlemagne's, camps in such a parkland beside a water, probably the Seine, just outside Paris:

Par dela l'iaue en un broillet rame'
 D'ys et d'aubors et d'oliviers plantez,
 Laienz en entrent qui n'i ont demore'.
 Laienz se tinrent li traitor prouvé,¹⁹⁶
 La nuit i jurent desc'i l'ajorner.

In this wood the hostile forces muster in secret encouraged by the traitor Hardré who has promised Gombaut one thousand pounds for the death of Ami and Amile. Although it is called a "broillet" or "little wood" it must have been of some size for it concealed a thousand men. Of the trees mentioned, the yew is to be expected with its connotations of evil and disaster.¹⁹⁷ The olive appears deliberately to be used with overtones of irony for a little later Hardré stands under one when he causes the friends and other knights to go out and fight Gombaut's forces. Hardré himself is a silent spectator of the carnage standing beneath the olive of peace.¹⁹⁸ In fact he takes advantage of the slaughter to cut off the heads of dead knights and hang them on the back of his saddle as proof of his own valour. As for the laburnum, its use also seems symbolic since it can represent sterility and malevolence.¹⁹⁹

There is an outstanding example of the garden as a place of treachery in the episode of the false Guinevere from L'Estoire de Merlin.²⁰⁰ In it the Queen is lead by a perfidious "vieille" to the garden "por pisier" late at night. The garden assumes a double role as a place of security and one in which to perform private acts. But this is deceptive. Beneath "vne ente de sainrieule" ten traitors are hidden who attempt to seize the Queen and put in her place the false Guinevere. She defends herself by throwing herself on the grass and clinging to "vne ente". At the crucial moment help arrives. Two of the Queen's retainers ambush the ambushers and, against overwhelming odds, are victorious. The bodies of "la vieille" and the traitors are thrown down the

rocks to the river below, then the Queen is led gently back to her chamber. The episode would delight the heart of a movie maker: suspense and drama against the background of lighted castle and darkened garden.

* * *

Progressing from the motif of the garden as a place of danger and treachery is the notion that it could also be the seat of evil power. In the episode of the "grant honte del vergier", a name that intrigues, Guerrh es comes upon a castle set in a watered meadow. Guerrh es passes through the empty castle and comes to a wide window overlooking an exotic garden:

Tot plain de fruit et riche et chier
A la fenestre s'apua
Et par le vergier esgarda
Si voit dues paveillons tendus²⁰¹
Dedans, de soie a or batus.

Feeling that there must be people there, Guerrh es, armed, leaps from the window for he cannot find the correct entry into the garden. This is his initial fault. He disturbs a sick knight causing him to spill precious almond milk²⁰² and angers him by the intrusion. The knight says to his dwarf the "petit chevalier":

Devant que vos l'ai es honi,
Nel laissies del vergier issir.²⁰³
Grant orgueil fist de  a venir.

Though Guerrh es offers to leave he is forced to joust and is humiliated by the dwarf. Pelted with refuse by the population, like Amadas, he is ignominiously forced to clamber back up through the windows. Vanquished, Guerrh es must humiliate himself by becoming a slave and working at the woman's task of spinning or swear to return at the end of the year and do further battle. He accepts the latter alternative and is eventually victorious. By this deed he avenges the dead knight, King Brangemors, who lies in state at Carlion castle. The king is now free to go to the kingdom of his fairy mother. More importantly he abolishes the evil custom whereby knights were dishonoured by being forced to perform the women's work of weaving.

It is possible that the weaving motif may have been taken from Chr etien's Chevalier au Lion which contains the adventure of the "Chastel de Pesme Aventure".

The episode is too well known to warrant retelling. However certain points may bear attention. Yvain is repeatedly warned against attempting the adventure because, like Guerrhès, he may suffer "honte".²⁰⁴ The story may possibly give us an insight into some of the more reprehensible aspects of contemporary industry. The work room is prison-like and surrounded by "un prael clos / de pex aguz reonz et gros".²⁰⁵ The maidens "meigres, et pales, et dolentes"²⁰⁶ toil night and day in abject poverty earning a paltry "cinq solz"²⁰⁷ each week, totally exploited by the lord of the castle. In order to free the damsels Yvain has to fight devil's sons, the epitome of evil. They are the watch-dogs of the lord and symbolize the repulsive side of his nature.

In total contrast to the scene of misery is the vision that greets Yvain when he enters the castle garden.²⁰⁸ A father reclines on his side on a silken cloth listening to a beloved only child, a maiden of less than sixteen years, read aloud from a romance. A fond mother joins them to complete this picture of domestic indolence and bliss.²⁰⁹ The God of Love is also invoked, for this is a deceptive evocation of a potential Garden of Love. The welcome given Yvain merely serves to enforce this idea:²¹⁰ those in the garden rise to their feet and call him "blessed". The maiden bestows on him every possible honour even sewing sleeves on his fresh garments as for a new day. The scene represents the refinements of courtesy in aristocratic life, a cameo picture evocative of Persian miniatures. Chrétien has excelled himself in juxtaposing this to the scene of want and suffering of the toiling weavers. There is a tension, for the reader is aware of the falsity of the scene of marital bliss. The reclining lord bedded on his silken coverlet is a medieval dictator of the worst kind. Under his rule there is overwork and exploitation, and he was evil, "le fils netun" as a God. These are the striking elements that cannot be concealed by the sketch of family happiness in a garden.

A second garden dominated by evil is mentioned in L'Estoire.²¹¹ Celidone, son of Nacien, in his wanderings comes to a garden within a castle

that has a fountain "moult bele & delitable a veoir". Duke Ganor, possessed by the devil, was about to drown his son there. The fountain, often a symbol of life is here a place of death. This episode may also be interpreted as a variant, or more precisely the obverse of the Narcissus Fountain. A child is a reflection of the parent. Ganor was about to inihilate his own reflection just as Narcissus destroyed not only his image in the water but himself in his prototypic act of love. The obvious difference is that Narcissus acted from love or rather self love. Ganor, it can be assumed from the fact that he was possessed by the devil, acted from a motive of wilful destruction or self destruction engendered by hatred. It may seem futile to compare a pagan myth to a Christianized moral tale, but human nature is apparently almost immutable. The terms in which it is expressed vary from culture to culture but the basic tendencies remain unchanged. Love and hatred are governing forces and both can cause death. In this episode evil turns to good: the garden is sanctified and becomes a place of healing. Ganor is made sane, his son baptised. The garden of menace, of evil and destruction has become hallowed.

* * *

A further facet of castle gardens is the notion of trial undergone by the hero: the garden was a testing place.²¹² This notion is associated with discovery of the person and revelation of the individual's true nature. Gauvain reveals himself the "preu chevalier" in the episode of Montesclaire. The town is besieged, with the beseigers camped down in the valley at the Fountain of the Laurel.²¹³ Gauvain manages to lift the seige whereupon he decides to win the Espée des Estranges Ranges. The setting is a garden below the castle tower and within the walls.

Un jardin avoit soz la tor,
Qui clos estoit trestot entor
De molt haut murs, ce sai sans dote.²¹⁴

Within this garden is a crypt with an iron door. The walls are of gold, the ceiling of silver. The crypt is decorated with precious stones, foremost amongst them on a golden pillar the much favoured carbuncle that lights up all

as if with the rays of the sun.²¹⁵ This splendid crypt is placed in the stead of the more traditional fountain at the centre of the garden. Gauvain enters and because of his valour wins the sacred sword that had belonged to Judas Maccabeus. Prowess has been tried in this garden setting and not been found wanting.

Sometimes, however, the test is not passed. In the C. O. F. P. Arthur and his men cross a vast "lande de genest" or "bruyere"²¹⁶ twenty leagues wide. There is no food and all are worried for the king's well being. An old woman tells of the wonderful hunting lodge of Yder le Bel close by, so Ké goes off for provisions:

Le rechet voit qui fu fermez
De vergiers, de vignes, de pres,
De molins, d'estans, de terriers,²¹⁷
Et de palis et de viviers;

This is a vivid sketch of a rich dwelling, a place where the wise are sorted from the base. Ké enters and finds a dwarf roasting a peacock on an apple-wood spit. Ké covets the delicacy and there is an altercation. Then a knight arrives who fells Ké with a blow from the prized bird. Ké, humiliated,²¹⁸ returns to the king saying that he has been told it is a "trop male terre" in which to find food. Gauvain ironically rejoins: "Certes, cil qui parla a vos / Vit de viandes come nous".²¹⁹ In the castle Ké the haughty, the uncouth, was forced to his knees, whereas, at Gauvain's polite request, Yder le Bel offers the king and his entourage a noble lodging.

A lighter story of trial associated with a garden is the whimsical Courtois d'Arras a thirteenth century "jeu". It tells of the prodigal son, Courtois, who leaves home with full purse against the advice of his father. He soon finds a tavern with a "raverdie"²²⁰ or lawn on which drinkers sat. The garçon comes out and lures our hero with promises of good wine and the joy of drinking on the grass out of a silver "hanap". Courtois, although he is told that "et fol et sage" drink there, feels that the garden and tavern are an answer to prayer:

Hé Dieus, aorés soiést tu,
Qui m'a mené en tel contrée

ou jou ai tel plantet trovée.²²¹

The Biblical Promised Land is evoked, a place of plenty, good for man, and the prodigal son emphasises this by adding that it is more beautiful than a monastery.²²² This comparison is a singularly unhappy one for the associations of the garden are quite hedonistic. Soon he is flattered by two women and falls to their wiles. Totally captivated by the sensuality of the place, the painted walls, soft feather beds, pillows of violets, and rose water to wash in, he now considers his father a "fols nais" to have frightened him with tales. So he sits drinking with the women wine "qui n'est de tilleul ne de tranble".²²³ Soon the inevitable happens. Courtois goes out to the garden "pour estaler"²²⁴ and vaunts the beauties of the place:

Dieus! com la fors a bien cortil!
Com ie i fait biel et gentil!
Soz ciel n'a erbe qui li faille.²²⁵

Once more we are confronted by a garden of all plants, a garden of beauty that promises happiness. But as Courtois makes this needed visit to the garden the women steal his money and he is thrown out of the tavern half-naked. Courtois, with his ironical name, has not won through the trial of the garden. As in the Bible story he goes to keep the pigs of a bourgeois but is so miserable he decides to venture home. There, as could be anticipated, he is greeted by celebrations and a Te Deum.

* * *

Various aspects of the reality and importance of castle gardens have been considered, but there is a lacuna to be filled. This is the tilt-yard that formed part of the castle garden. Their physical aspect will first be considered, then their importance in medieval life.

From the C. O. F. P. we learn that the joust-yard was in fact a garden: it is twice called a "vergier" and apparently it was an open space within an orchard: "Defors la ville an un vergier / Avoit une molt belle pré;"²²⁶ It must have been close below the castle walls, for the ladies climbed "Amont aux loiges, aus fenestres"²²⁷ to watch the combat.

At the Chastel Orguillous the tilt-yard is close to an olive grove and is itself marked out by four olive trees:

Seignor, es quatre cors del pré
 Erent quatre olivier planté
 Por montrer del champs la devise
 Tuit.tienent a recreandise
 Celus qui trespasa premiers
 La bone des quatre oliviers²²⁸
 puis qu'il est venus armez.

Tilt-yards were commonly marked out formally, if not by trees, by rope stretched between poles. This was the case at Corbenic where Bohort fought Mariales and where the king showed the contestants the "bonnes" (also written "bonsnes", "bones", "bondes") beforehand. "Atant sen issent del palais et (s)en vienent en la cort aval. et montent sor lor cheuaus qui estoient toit covert de fer. & (s)en vont tout contreval la ville tant quil vindrent es pres ou li roys auoit fait peus fichier & cordes tendre illuec ou la bataille deuoit estre & auoit deuse que cile qui premiers isteroit hors des cordes seroit uaincus par la commun esgart dez barons."²²⁹ From this we learn that there were two ways of being defeated at a joust: by being unhorsed and by being forced beyond the boundaries set. At the Chastel Orguillous joust Ké is pushed past the olive tree markers. His opponent then goes off with Ké's horse. When Ké tries to claim victory, Arthur's knights just mock him for he has shown himself "recreant" by going out of bounds.²³⁰

In the Chastel Orguillous tilt-yard the markers were strangely enough the olives of peace. At other times they appear to be the more fitting pine of heroic connotation. In the Livre de Lancelot del Lac after a tournament the hero rests in a garden-type setting, a valley by a fountain surrounded by green grass and four pines.²³¹

At the Chastel Orguillous, the tournament lasts several days and is virtually a small scale war. But the evenings are time of peace and merriment. The tent of King Arthur is pitched on the grass beside a small wood of olives²³² and in the cool of the evening he and his knights would go to "esbanoier" under the shade of an olive.²³³ Sunday, too, was a time of peace with hunting in place of fighting. Those of the castle also make merry at night. There are

candles on the towers, walls and upper chambers, even on the trees in the gardens ("sor arbres es vergiers")²³⁴ so that it seems that all the castle is ablaze.²³⁵ Also there is singing all night in honour of the lord of the castle and his "amie".

This same poem offers another detailed description of a tilt-yard, that of Carlion. It has a woodland park of "carmes" or hornbeams²³⁶ where Carados and his friends spread their carpets and arm themselves. Meanwhile the maidens stay a little way off in a "destor" where they build bowers, "foillies",²³⁷ which they strew with green grass and flowers. This is some little way off from Carlion.²³⁸ Carlion itself has water on one side and woodland around it on the other sides. Under the square tower of the castle is a valley also called a "lande".²³⁹ It is enclosed by ditches, and the leaders of the opposing factions have their respective groups on each side of it, Ris in the tower, Cadoalan in the wood. Access between the tilt-yard and the wood is only possible by means of a drawbridge.²⁴⁰

As previously noted, this tournament, like others was a really warlike affair. The poem mentions one thousand five hundred fighting. Out of one group of a hundred, forty fall to the ground "mors ou mehaigniez"²⁴¹ for the knights fought each other more angrily than tigers or leopards.²⁴² Tournaments really were savage affairs, yet this one concludes with three marriages!

At this point let us insist once more a possibly almost universal rule about tilt-yards, namely their isolation, and this despite the fact that they were often surrounded by gardens. Trees marking the boundaries. Ropes, moats or ditches were the usual ways of setting the ground apart. At other times it was marked off by men,²⁴³ or even took place on an island. This was the case at the castle of Roestock where the champions cross the water with their horses by boat.²⁴⁴ This extreme isolation of the joust-yard hints at the fact that in some ways it was a form of otherworld where deeds of valour beyond normal expectations were performed. On a practical level, the fixed boundaries of the tilt-yard helped ensure that there would be no foul play, and served as

a criterion of victory or defeat.

The second reality of the medieval tilt-yard is its garden-type aspect. Trees are frequently mentioned in connection with it, or it was actually called a "vergier". In L'Atre Périlleux the watchers at a tournament stand beneath the shade of hornbeams, alders and elms.²⁴⁵ In another episode from the Livre de Lancelot del Lac a joust takes place a crossbow shot from the castle at "la fontaine dez .ij. sycamores". It is in a valley, and the fountain is of human construction for the water "sourdoit del pie de lun des sycamores par vn tuiel d'argent".²⁴⁶

This joust at the Fountain of the Two Sycamores introduces another important aspect of the tilt-yard, namely the presence of ladies and all that this entailed. Here there are two rich pavilions for their comfort when they leave the castle and go to witness the combat.²⁴⁷ The ladies act strangely. They are summoned to see the "iouste" by a dwarf blowing a horn, a known signal. Yet when Lancelot is eventually the victor, they do not acclaim him but silently retire to the castle.

At other times the ladies have bowers which are strewn with fresh grass and flowers, but more commonly if they are not watching the tournament from the castle towers, their waiting place is more elaborate. In the Queste the jousting place is set with rich silken pavilions.²⁴⁸ At other times the arrangements were even more refined: "loges" would be erected for queens and highborn ladies who often travelled from afar, ".ij. iornees loins. ou. iij", to watch the display.²⁴⁹ These "loges" were set up by skilled craftsmen. At the Peningue tournament Gauvain and his companions come to a meadow where they see "carpentiers qui drechoient loges".²⁵⁰ Furthermore the ladies come to tournaments in all their finery. In Jean Renart's Guillaume de Dole those coming to watch the tournament at Saint Trond as well as those taking part wear flowers: "D'autres flors que de violetes / i ot chapelez plus de mil".²⁵¹ Such chaplets are supremely suitable since the violet is the symbol of Venus "the violet crowned".²⁵²

It is now time to consider a little the impact of jousting and the joust-yard on medieval life. Huizinga studied the play element in culture and arrived at some interesting but debatable conclusions. He notes that in medieval times play terms were regularly applied to armed strife and develops the theory that play is, by its very nature, a form of contest. From this he concludes "Play is battle and battle play".²⁵³ Elsewhere he writes: "Medieval life was brimfull of play: the joyous and unbuttoned play of the people, full of pagan elements that had lost their sacred significance and been transformed into jesting and buffoonery, or the solemn and pompous play of chivalry, the sophisticated play of courtly love."²⁵⁴ There is an element of truth in these statements but they tend to oversimplify things. Battle was occasionally referred to in play terms, as the mysterious "games" in an early version of the "Joie de la Cort" episode in the Mabinogion.²⁵⁵ But battle was battle as such authors as Wace well understood. Perhaps Wace is a professional writer rather than an historian, but he describes everyday reality, its games, feasts, countryside and also the absolute carnage and brutality of war. Personal glory was to be won, but as a corollary came savagery, the laying waste of land and in its shadow, famine.

Jousting was barely one step removed from war. Loomis writes that "games" were so costly, dangerous and licentious that they were banned by some kings (such as Henry III in 1232 and 1251) and by popes and prelates who at times denied Christian burial to those who took part.²⁵⁶ Tournaments were especially popular in France during the twelfth rather than the thirteenth centuries according to Loomis,²⁵⁷ yet thirteenth century literature is filled with them, and even the fourteenth century believed with a form of desperation in knightly deeds,²⁵⁸ for instance in the, at times, suicidal charge of knights in advance of men at arms.

Fighting was indeed popular and it is not surprising that "behorder" with the quintain was one of the delights of the garden that Merlin conjured up for Viviane.²⁵⁹ Here such a passtime reflects the love-battle that characterizes the

relationship of Merlin and his "amie". Tournaments were a form of battle, as when out of one hundred knights taking part forty lie on the field dead or wounded. It is not surprising that except for the specific terms "beholder", "ioste", "tornoiz" and its synonym "estor", most of the other terms that refer to jousts and tournaments are war terms. So we have "ostoier" and "cembeler" to do battle, "le chaple" and "la meslee" the battle.

The trouble was that jousts went too far. Merlin said that jealousy was the cause of this.²⁶⁰ His warning is illustrated by an earlier episode when Gauvain fought against the Knights of the Round Table who had slighted his reputation. The finale was in this case peaceful, but it nearly turned to fully-fledged warfare because of the envy of some knights.²⁶¹

The middle ages were in fact not "brimfull of play". Things were decided by armed combat rather than by parley, a simplistic way of sorting things out, based on the motto "might is right". This is not altered by the fact that tilt-yards were enclosed, beautiful and isolated, attributes that are connected to the otherworld. They were, despite this, places of ambiguity where a knight was dishonoured, badly wounded, or went to his death. At other times the tilt-yard throws a glimmer of light on medieval law.

First let us consider the ambiguity of certain combats. Normally the victor was the hero, and the vanquished, if he had acted honourably, was not necessarily shamed. But this was not always the case. At the strange joust at "la fontaine dez .ij. sycamores", a simple test of prowess, a certain knight Sarras is pelted with sticks and stones when he is unhorsed. His vanquisher Belias, wearing ominous black armour, is in his turn overcome by Lancelot. Yet Lancelot is not acclaimed; the ladies form a silent procession and return to the castle paying him no attention.²⁶²

Another example of the ambiguity of tournaments comes again from the Livre de Lancelot del Lac when the hero, wearing red amour to disguise his identity, fights in a tournament at Camaalot. He does deeds of valour until he catches sight of the Queen, whereupon his strength suddenly deserts him.

Bademaguz catches Lancelot as he swoons, carries him to a nearby wood and lays him by a fountain under two sycamores.²⁶³ What does it all mean? Lancelot has proved his valour against the Knights of the Round Table who were envious of him and claimed amongst themselves that they could defeat him in combat.²⁶⁴ Yet love laid Lancelot low and he is only saved thanks to his friend, Bademaguz. Does the sycamore represent this motif of being laid low by love? It may so be if one compares this to the story of "Joie de la Cort" where Meleagant's demanding mistress lies beneath a sycamore.²⁶⁵

* * *

The tilt-yard was in medieval times an equivalent to our courts of law and in addition was used to mark a memorable event. Kings held tournaments to mark their coronations or the coming of age of their children. Tournaments were also held instead of the more usual hunts to mark the great religious turning points of the year: Christmas, Whitsunday, Easter and the Ascension or simply as an excuse for a festivity as that of the Castel de la Marche which was followed by caroles and betrothals. Possibly betrothal of the king's daughter was the main excuse for the whole exercise.²⁶⁶ So in the Queste one is held in the "praerie de camaalot" to make memorable the start to the quest and to show the unsurpassed prowess of the new knight Galaad.²⁶⁷

Of similar impact is the joust element after Lancelot's madness when, unwittingly, he has slept with Helaine. In that episode, ashamed of the past, he goes to Lille de Joie hoping for anonymity. But he hangs upon a pine the shield that Pelles has made for him depicting a knight kneeling before a queen as if crying for mercy. With this as his device Lancelot fights all comers but spares their lives. These battles, fought in the name of the Queen and culminating in his encounter with Perceval and Hector, mark his reintegration into society and eventual return to court.²⁶⁸ In passing, the same may be said of the joust in the episode of "Joie de la Cort". Mabonograin, although vanquished, has broken the love spells that bind him to his "amie" and the marvellous garden: the final joust there leads, too, to his becoming once more

a part of society.

Often a joust is a judicial battle not merely a test of prowess. It can be a fight to exonerate oneself or another against some charge such as treason, a way of obtaining civil rights, an attempt to justify some claim and other things besides. So it is that Lancelot in the tilt-yard outside the castle in Gorre, ("La lande fu large et bele") defends his honour against a knight who had accused him of cowardice for riding in the cart.²⁶⁹ Lancelot has also to defend himself against the charge of treacherously killing Meleagant. The elements of the scene are picturesque: the hero's anonymity, the sun, the king's shaded and rich pavilion, music, a joust to prove a valour. There is an emotional side too: Lancelot does not tell King Bademaguz either his own name nor that of Meleagant the king's son until after the joust. The king guesses Lancelot's identity and the fact that his son is dead yet makes much of the victorious Lancelot.²⁷⁰

Lancelot, the peerless, often defends the honour of others. In a "praerie" outside Winchester Lancelot, wearing the sleeve of the Maid of Escalot, fights against the Knights of the Round Table since they have the upper hand. Disguised, he saves the weaker side from shame and in fact leads them to victory and gets "le los & le pris del tornoiement".²⁷¹

This adventure however causes the Queen to be avidly jealous of her supposed rival, the Maid of Escalot, and she treats Lancelot harshly. Yet he bears her no grudge. Instead, in the "pres" outside Camaalot, also called "vne plaigne moult grande & moult bele", Lancelot is ready to stake his life to defend the Queen accused of murder. He defeats Mador, brother of the poisoned man, but spares his life just as he had spared the lives of those on Lille de Joie. By so acting Lancelot not only proves the innocence of the Queen but re-establishes accord at court by gaining the Queen's pardon for Mador, and Arthur's acquittal.²⁷²

In Ami et Amile there is a judicial battle with a twist. Amile has been accused of sleeping with Bellisant, Charlemagne's daughter, which is in fact

true. He therefore cannot perjure himself by taking part in the joust, but his friend Ami who is identical to him in all ways takes up the challenge. The scene is an awe-inspiring one:

Nostre emperer^s descent desoz un pin,
On li aporte un fauestuef d'or fin,²⁷³
Li emperers de France s'i assist.

Beside him are his barons, before him the Blessed Sacrament and holy relics; Divine and earthly majesty come together. The purpose of this Roland-type setting, this show of state and might is clear: "Qui s'i parjure malement est baillis, / N'istra dou champ tant qu'estera honnis".²⁷⁴ Hardré in his usual malicious way had been pressing to have Amile's hostages, the imperial family, burnt at the stake when Ami arrives and dismounts under an olive, symbol of peace. A battle ensues "enz ups pres verdoians"²⁷⁵ and Ami is victorious, so saving the lives of both Amile and Belissant.

Jousts, as well as settling arguments about personal valour were also a method of resolving evil causes. Such is the case in the Livre de Lancelot del Lac where Bohort takes up the cause of King Aman's daughter, rightful heiress to the land. The lady as a gesture of peace offers half the territory to the usurper, her elder sister, who had been disinherited for misgoverning the country and introducing "malvaises costumes & anieuses". The elder sister refuses so the battle takes place with many spectators in "vne prairie qui estoit en vne ualee". Right is on Bohort's side. He is the victor and social justice is re-established.²⁷⁶

Another example of civil rights being restored is in this same book, this time with Hector as hero.²⁷⁷ Although warned against the adventure by writing on stones, and by a dwarf and a damsel under an elm, Hector, continues on the left path of shame, crosses an almost cosmic barrier, a black and deep water ".iiij. toises de le"²⁷⁸ and arrives at a castle of evil custom. The lord Marigart drags all vanquished knights naked through the streets and dishonours a maiden each day. Hector, after passing another bridge, defeating its defender and promising to deliver the people of the town enters "vn moult bel iarding plain darbres fors de tant quil y auoit en me lieu vne place qui bien duroit .j.

arpent de lonc et de le. et estoit clos de boins pels agus & fors tot entour".²⁷⁹ Notice the extreme isolation of the joust-yard and the difficulty Hector has to arrive there. Hector challenges Marigart by blowing an ivory horn on a pine. Hector eventually is victor and then successfully combats two lions guarding a cave, the prison of the lady of the castle. Hector has passed three successive trials: the bridge, the joust and the wild animals. Now amid general joy and festivity, in a freshly strewn hall, all celebrate the return to social justice.

In a further episode from the Livre de Lancelot del Lac, Lancelot is the hero rather than Hector. This is the episode of Terican's Hill. Terican and his hill appear to represent pride and evil. It is also a most unchivalrous place this tilt-yard a bowshot from the castle, but it has some beautiful elements. The fountain, completely shaded by three pines, is exceptional. The water wells up through a silver tube, falls onto a stone of marble then is caught in a container of lead. The symbolism of the progression from a precious metal to a base one seems to be that the pure water becomes sullied. It suggest that a Fount of Life becomes a Fount of Death or Danger. Hector arrives at the spot and relaxes while he waters his horse and at that moment Terican, in a most unknightly fashion rushes upon him and captures him.²⁸⁰

However Terican is soon to meet his match. Lancelot rides to the spot where the pines, symbols of valour, bear the shields, helmets and lances of sixty knights captured by Terican, and twenty-four of these are Knights of the Round Table. The arms attached to trees are a sign of challenge or defiance as in the case when Lancelot at Lille de Joie hangs his shield on a pine or when that same hero at "le tertre devee" finds there ten strong lances against a sycamore. Lancelot accepts this implicit challenge and a fierce battle ensues until eventually Lancelot forces Terican into a ditch where he overcomes and kills him. The scene is realistic: in a ditch a man with heavy armour could be like a cast beetle. The result of Lancelot's victory is the re-establishment of social order with the release of the captured knights.

Jousting was an integral part of medieval life and the tilt-yard an adjunct to virtually every castle; part of the garden. The joust itself had both good and bad features: it could be a simple celebration, a method of seeking justice, or warfare at its very worst.²⁸¹ It epitomises much that applies to the castle garden in general. The castle garden was both in design and usage an extra room and a theatre. It had variety and beauty. It could open onto the outside world or close back upon itself, even as a prison. It was the scenario for amicable meetings, but, perhaps even more, for encounters of tension. A forum for many aspects of medieval life, it shows the relativity of safety at a time when heroism alternated with base desire and evil intention. Its beauty reflects the myth of the middle ages as a Golden Age; its ambiguity manifests the uncertainty of a period when the individual sought to develop within or against a tight society.

CHAPTER 4 THE GARDEN OF LOVE

This sensuous "hortus conclusus" contains ambiguities and contradictions: it can be a Bower of Bliss that renews yet it also contains the motifs of death and destruction. Its antecedents are Biblical and Classical. Firstly there is Paradise with its many connotations. Eden stood at the beginning of the human cycle, a place that had been lost, whilst the Heavenly Paradise was still to be attained. The middle ages associated Eden with the Celestial Paradise through a nature symbol, the Tree of the Cross, believed to have sprung from a branch taken by Eve from Eden. Yet although Eden is connected to prelapsarian innocence and the Heavenly Paradise to perfection, the Fall of Man is integrally linked to shame as his nakedness.¹

A second source of garden allegory was the Song of Songs probably dating from the fifth century B.C. Its vocabulary is passionate and in the section 4 : 12-16 there is perfect integration between the Beloved and the garden. It has been held to represent the purity of God's love for his Church. More specifically it was included in the Hebrew Canon because of its allegorical value. Rabbi Akiba called it the "Holy of Holies" and one widely held view maintains that it was always used allegorically and probably in a North Israelite New Year Liturgy.² However there are overtly erotic associations in the comparison of the "hortus conclusus" to the body of the Beloved.

Another tradition inherited by the middle ages is that of the "locus amoenus" which, indirectly at least, derives from Homer. In the description of the Elysian Fields promised to Menelaus the following motifs are sketched: a temperate land where the Zephyr brings comfort to the soul and body so that "all existence is a dream of ease".³ Other motifs are added to this such as the otherworld aspect of Calypso's island with its meadows spangled with iris, pansies and violets, its four streams that flow into canals just like Eden or a Persian paradise, and its tamed birds.⁴ Even the garden of Alcinous, at first

sight merely a vegetable plot, possesses the faery quality of being filled with flowers and fruit all the year round.⁵ These motifs are later taken up by Theocritus and Virgil who often use the term "locus amoenus", but it is above all Ovid who develops the ideal landscape. From there stems a long tradition which continues into the middle ages through the "topos" of the "locus amoenus".⁶ Such descriptions and especially those of the Elysian Fields were assimilated into a Christian framework and considered as a reflection of Paradise.⁷ Nonetheless, just like the Song of Songs they contain ambiguities that render them fitting to be used by love poets.

* * *

There was an ambivalent attitude towards the sexual act in medieval times. Aquinas considered it as evil in so far as it submerged the rational faculty. Yet passion purifies the soul. Some medieval poetry, such as the following is difficult to interpret:

A man were blest in Jesu's sight
If he could lie with her at night,⁸
For he'd have heaven here.

Is this irony of the kind found in Aucassin et Nicolette where Aucassin says he would prefer Hell with his beloved and a smart and carefree entourage to Heaven?⁹ Could it be a healing of the endless strife between body and soul? Is this akin to what Gaston Paris called "amour courtois", a religion of love with a total ethical code? Perhaps the intent of such lines was satirical or allegorical.¹⁰ The problem is a much discussed one, for what is commonly termed "amour courtois" may have been merely a literary mode, a convention allied to a form of artistic play.¹¹ An analysis of "amour courtois" is beyond the scope of this thesis, so the term will be avoided. Instead love will be considered in the measure that it manifests itself in garden imagery.

* * *

Garden allegory is almost as old as the history of gardening. Frequently, as in the Song of Songs, the beloved is associated with the whole garden. In a poem by Abd ar-Rahman II, where he says that his wife is: "Like a garden

covered with flowers wonderful",¹² the imagery is the same but it is a simile rather than a fully-fledged metaphor. Possibly the poem may owe something indirectly to the Sūfi mystic poets, but, if so, the relationship is distant.

From Byzantium comes a poem Hysmène and Hysménos by Eumathios Macrembolites. One particular sentence in it, as pointed out in 1916 by F. M. Warren,¹³ bears particular relevance to garden allegory as developed notably in the first part of the Roman de la Rose: "Hysmenias you have lovingly cherished me, this Hysmène of yours, like a garden, and you have put around me, the garden, a paling, lest the hand of the wayfarer pluck me."¹⁴ A simple simile turns into a garden metaphor which develops in such a way as finally to equate the beloved with a flower. It is by no means impossible that there is a cross-fertilization between one language area and another, but very hard to prove it. A convenient course is to accept the commonly held theory that Greek, Latin and French "topoi" of the garden and its allegorical ramifications have developed in parallel from Classical sources,¹⁵ ultimately from the Odyssey. However the situation is complex: The Song of Songs and Eastern influence cannot be ignored, and furthermore due attention should be given to a certain creativity in authors.

Villon, for example, introduces the image of a garden to "Les Regrets de la Belle Heaulmiere".¹⁶ It is overtly sensual, unrepentantly suggestive when the poet talks of:

ce sadinet,
Assis sur grosses fermes cuysse,¹⁷
Dedans son joly gardinet.

This erotic symbolism comes into the poem directly before the contrast to old age. Behind it lies the age-old motif of the ephemerality of the beauty of a garden, a motif that is supremely well adapted to a comparison with youth and love.

Not only is a garden seen as the beloved, but certain particular elements in the garden have specific symbolism. So the grafting of a tree has a sensual meaning, as in the poem: "I newly have a garden".¹⁸ In this poem the tree grafted is the pear, the tree of Venus, and the "grafting" is treated not with

sexuality but with gentle humour. In the ending, the girl's infidelity is considered whimsically, without bitterness.

The motif of the grafted pear comes also into Cligès in the well known episode of Fenice and her tower garden. The season is Spring, the time of awakening and love:

Au renovelement d'esté,
Que flors et fuelles d'arbres issent,
Et cil oisel si s'esjoissent
Qu'il font lor joie en lor latin. 19

Fenice is stirred by the song of the nightingale, the symbol of love, as Cligès holds her gently: "Le braz au flanc et l'autre au col".²⁰ She tells Cligès how much she would like a garden to enjoy herself in, and she uses not only the word "esbanoier", but also "deduire"²¹ that is redolent with sensual connotations. So a garden is created for her delight by the knowledgeable Jehan. One of its main features is a wonderful grafted pear tree, its boughs descending towards the ground²² as a bower. There Fenice makes a bed and takes her delight "nu a nu"²³ with her lover. There too, they are discovered by the huntsman Bertran more or less as Tristan and Iseut were found in the forest bower. Fenice becomes aware of the danger only through a pear that falls on her ear.²⁴ A falling fruit, symbol of ripeness almost overripeness, and moreover a pear from a grafted tree appears as a symbol of rich, physical love, and it is fitting that the lovers should be warned of danger not by a guard as in an "aube" poem, but by this.

In Floire et Blancheflor the motif of the grafted tree also has its place. Floire is sent off to Montoire in the hope that this absence will cause him to forget his loved one. But Floire is impervious to the charms of other girls, for Love has planted in his heart a grafted tree.²⁵ The fragment from the Vatican gives a fuller version of this love compared to the sweet-smelling²⁶ grafted tree:

Al qu(er) li ad planté une ente
Qui en tuz tens flurie esteit
Et tant dulcement li uleit
Que ne encens ne zodoal,
Ne girofre ne garengal

Icel odor rien ne prissout.²⁷

Yet more suggestive than the grafted tree is the motif of picking fruit or flowers. Floire at Montoire awaits with impatience the moment when he can pick the fruit from his grafted tree:

Tut autre joie ubliout
 Le fruit de cele ente entendeit,
 Meis li terme mult lung esteit,
 Ço li ert vis, del fruit quillir
 Quant Blancheflur verrat gesir
 Juste sei et la beiserat,
 La fruit de l'ente dunc cuildrat.²⁸

Allied to the analogy by which picking of fruit or flowers corresponds to the sexual act, there is the theme of picking fruit from the otherworld. In both cases the motif can involve the breaking of a taboo, and if the object picked is a fruit, the eating of the fruit seals the fate of the one who eats it. Variations of this motif are embedded in many cultures and can involve either a "fall" or a "rebirth". The story of Adam and Eve is one of the prototypes of this, and its counterpart is the belief behind the mystery of the Eucharist whereby a person can attain salvation by eating the "fruit" of Christ.

A pre-Zoroastrian concept, the Tree of all Seeds, is a distant parallel to this.²⁹ On it sits the great Sāena bird, a huge falcon. The Pahlavi texts relate how, by the beating of its wings, it breaks the twigs off this tree so that the seeds are scattered across the face of the earth by wind and rain. Thus it is a source of life. The Vendidad refers to it as "the well watered Tree, on which grow all (...) plants of every kind, by hundreds, by thousands, by hundreds of thousands". The tree is also known as the Tree of Healing or of All Remedies since it bears the seeds of all healing plants. Close by is the Tree of Life which gives long life to whoever eats its fruit and confers immortality to the resurrected bodies of the dead. In Iran because these two trees grew close together there was some confusion between them, particularly as they were both guarded by kara fish and associated with healing. The basis of these tree myths is Indo-Iranian for the Indians believed that there was a huge tree, the Jambū, which grew on the south side of Mt. Merū, (Vourakaśa lies

on the south side of Mt. Harā) and was associated with "soma" and immortality and also with healing herbs.³⁰

The otherworld fruit is frequently the apple. The Celtic Mag Mell in Connla the Fair has magical, unfailing fruit, and Connla, before he goes to Mag Mell, lives for a month on a wonderful apple that remains whole no matter how much he eats of it.³¹

In Le Livre d'Artus is the story of the Garden of the Apple of Forgetfulness. Established by the Queen of Denmark, it is "ferme par nigramance de lair entor"³² and is a land whence none return. Knights enter the garden almost without realizing it, but once they are within they are soon captives. Agrevain, for instance, is deep in thought and his horse, unguided, enters the garden "ou il avoit arbres de toutes manieres de fruiz". He chooses to eat a "pome vermeille" offered him by a damsel, rather than fight.³³ His prowess is lost, chivalry forgotten and all he wants is to lead a life of sloth with the other knights in the garden that has all the joys of the world. The enchantments are only ended when Sagremor, Arthur and Gauvain refuse the apple and do battle with the knights of the orchard.

The "Joie de la Cort" garden from Erec et Enide also has mysterious fruit. They can be eaten within the garden but cannot be carried beyond its barriers: he who wants to leave must put the fruit back in its place.³⁴ This could be an attenuated, rationalized version of the picking of a "taboo fruit". What belongs to the otherworld may not be brought back to the common world of mortals.

The association of the loved one to a flower or plant is a ubiquitous motif. Sometimes, as in Guillaume de Dole, the heroine is not identified with a flower, but has the rose as her distinguishing mark: "une rose vermelle / desor la cuisse blanche et tendre".³⁵ Very frequently there is a comparison of the fair one to a rose, a lily or other fair flower. In Cligès Chrétien uses the simile of the tree and bark to good effect. When the young pair finally avow their love, Cligès says that since he left: "Ausi com escorce sanz fust / Fu mes cors sanz cuer an Bretaingne".³⁶ Fenice makes echo of this: "En moi n'a mes

fors que l'escorce".³⁷ Guilhem de Cabestanh, a poet of love and nature, uses the nature metaphor in a way close to personification. In stanza 5 of his *Chanson I*³⁸ the flower in the high woods is the merit of the lady in the high castle. Nature is integral to the poem and through it Guilhem can say what would be otherwise difficult to express.

Frequently, sensual connotations are attached to the nature metaphor. In the Livre de Lancelot del Lac when Bohort loses his virginity it is compared to flowers falling: "lez flors de virginite sont espandues".³⁹ In Cligès the conception and development of the unborn baby are spoken of in nature terms. The images of ripeness, abundance of love and childbirth are compared to seeds and "grainne" that reach maturity as fruit.⁴⁰ Man is part of nature and reproduction is seen as a fruitfulness. In the Roman de Jaufre a flower symbol represents love: Brunissens gives Jaufre a flower and he accepts it as a love token: "'Domna' dis el, 'per vostr' amor / la penrai, pos vos la .m donatz'".⁴¹ A final example of the simple association of a flower and the loved one comes in an episode from Floire et Blancheflor. Floire is hidden in a huge basket filled with flowers, and, thus concealed, finds his way into the tower of the maidens. He is "a flower among flowers" for Clarisse laughingly asks Blancheflor: "Compaigne, connaissiez la flor?"⁴²

The allegory of the rose⁴³ and the loved one has its source in antiquity. Plautus when he uses "mea rosa" as a hypocoristic term is not far from a complete personification. In the East the identification of the beloved with the flower developed in primitive times through one of the oldest and most graceful myths of Persian poetry, that of the love of the nightingale for the rose.⁴⁴ It reaches great heights in the fourteenth century in the ghazals of Hafiz. He uses the well known allegory to represent several levels of significance. His poems can be read as delicate nature poems, as representing human love and as expressing Sūfi mysticism: the beloved can be the divine lover, separation from him is the dark night of the soul whilst union with him is the mystic's ecstatic absorption in the absolute.⁴⁵

In Persian poetry the allegory was complete. The loved one's face, her cheeks, her brow, her person were identified with the rose, her hair is the thorns that tear the poet's heart,⁴⁶ her tears are attar of roses and the world which she inhabits is the rose garden. In Guillaume de Dole Lienor's tears are compared to "eve rose" and in the Dit de la Rose the beloved surrounded by scandalmongers is compared to the rose: "qui d'espinetes est enclose".⁴⁷ These similes are in the Persian tradition.

The most complete allegory of the rose in Western literature is Guillaume de Lorris' Roman de la Rose. The equation of the rose with love is suggested in the first lines of the poem where the beloved is compared to a rose. Later the rose becomes a love-token. It is fitting that the principal characters of Guillaume's court wear coronets of roses, from the God of Love himself to Oiseuse and Dedit:

Par druerie et par solaz
li ot s'amie fet chapel
de roses, qui moult li sist bel.⁴⁸

Now the rose represented both religious and secular love and its mention evokes either the Heavenly Paradise or one of profane love. The multivalence of the rose symbol contributes to the richness of Guillaume's poem.

Guillaume does not directly evoke the religious symbolism of the rose. Nonetheless is it a mere chance in the opening to the poem that he associates the rose to which he compares the loved one ("el doit estre Rose clamee"⁴⁹) with the state of mind of the young lover that finds expression in the description of an idyllic month of May? Now May is the month of Mary and the rose is associated with her veneration: she is the "rosa mystica", the "rosa sine spinas", and in the iconography of the middle ages she is represented sitting in an enclosed garden holding a rose.

This is an example of the balance Guillaume achieves between secular and religious ideals. It is not, as some American critics affirm, that Guillaume is ironic, it is rather that, influenced by the culture of his century, he encircles his painting of love with a Christian framework. Where some of his contemporaries aware of the fundamental antithesis between the two forms of love, that is the

love of God and the love for his creation, treat one or other in a burlesque way,⁵⁰ Guillaume is convinced that secular love can be but an imperfect shadow of Divine love. However it is the psychology of this love and its effect on the protagonists that interest Guillaume far more than the didactic or dogmatic aspect.

In the Roman de la Rose the identification of the loved one to the rose takes shape from the episode of the fountain onwards. So it is that, automatically, one sees in the behaviour of the Dreamer that of a lover at grips with his passion. The progress of his attachment would correspond to the first of the five stages of love. According to the contemporary tradition these stages were sight, conversation, touch, the kiss and the "factum". The influence of sight on the movements of the heart becomes explicit when the Lover becomes the prey of the God of Love: the five golden shafts penetrate the heart of the Lover through his eyes. At the episode of the fountain the Lover describes delightfully the awakening of his adolescent passion and his submission to a growing sensuality. Enchanted by the vision of the rose garden, he is overwhelmed by "envie" and "rage" to approach it. Immediately his senses are assailed by "l'odor des roses savorée" that "(lui) entra jusques en la corée".⁵¹ From this moment onwards he is consumed with the desire to consummate his passion by picking "au moins une" of the roses. At the start, therefore, our young Adonis is attracted by all the roses in the garden and he yearns to weave himself a chaplet of them to adorn his brow. He is, one could say, in love with the idea of being in love. Later he chooses one of the roses "si tres belle"⁵² and aspires to immediate self-gratification rather than a shared happiness. We know that she is a very young girl, a rosebud, maybe not nubile, for Bel Accueil becomes frightened when the Dreamer asks for the bud and answers: "Lessiez le croistre et amender".⁵³ But, despite the protests of Bel Accueil, the Dreamer demands a kiss.

The description of the rose garden, that garden within a garden, introduces an element of anticipation and surprise that is indispensable to all

good garden design. In addition its poetic function is to increase in the reader the feeling of suspense introduced at the other "destor" of the Fountain of Narcissus. The Lover manifests a certain foolhardiness in his attitude towards the roses, for the rose garden can be nothing other than the women's apartments. The scene is prepared for the Lover's entry into the garden, an act that could be equated with the violation of the ladies' sanctum. In this context is it too prosaic to consider that the kiss the Lover takes is an act of great temerity? Piere Vidal is the subject of a similar escapade. That poet gained access to the room of Alazais, wife of En Barral, "aginoilla se devan ella e baiza li la boca". Fearing the husband's wrath, Vidal sought refuge in Genoa intending to embark on the third crusade with Richard the Lion Heart.⁵⁴ Fortunately En Barral forgave the poet and he was able to return to Marseilles.

However proximity to the garden brings the Dreamer no peace for the rose of his choice is surrounded by thorns and nettles. The effect of the scene contrasts with the result achieved by Chaucer in the following lines: "Nexte the foule netle, rough and thikke, / The rose waxeth swote and smothe and soft".⁵⁵ Chaucer uses antithetical elements to accentuate the beauty of the rose, while Guillaume modifies the atmosphere of well-being built up at the beginning of the poem.

The Paradise garden at the beginning of the poem is the exteriorization of the joy and peace of the Dreamer on the threshold of a new life filled with promise, but this idyllic atmosphere is attenuated after the description of the "Fontaine d'Amors". The use of words such as "laz" and "engins" raises the question of the Lover's liberty and gives a foretaste of his later subjection when he glimpses the rose. Even before he has been wounded by the God of Love his liberty and well-being are at stake. He can neither move away ("je n'oi talant de repairer") nor stretch out his hand to pick the rose for he is afraid of being hurt by the thistles and nettles ("je me cremoie mal feire").⁵⁶ It is only when he is "angoissiez" and "troblez" by the arrows of the God of Love and that he is forced to become a vassal of that monarch that the Lover can cross

the barrier of the thorny hedge. Even then the rose remains out of reach for she is guarded by Danger, "uns vilains". In wanting to pick the rose the Lover no longer seeks a simple pleasure but the attenuation of his pain: "Si je l'eusse en ma baillie, / il me'eust rendue la vie".⁵⁷ Picking the flower would be the last of the five steps of love, an interpretation dating back to the Song of Songs 5 : 1.

It is here, in the description of the rose garden, that the theme of mutability takes shape. It is true that Guillaume de Lorris has already drawn attention to the fact that the garden knows the seasons however the notion of "iver et este" is only introduced to affirm "qu'il i avoit de flor planté / tot jorz".⁵⁸ Now the poet evokes the theme of the transience of all beauty, a theme that anticipates the mutation of the garden into a fortress:

les roses ouvertes et lees
sont en un jor toutes alees,
et li bouton durent tuit frois
a tot le moins .11. jors ou trois.

When he falls in love with the rosebud, the Lover is far from being assured of eternal happiness. In fact Guillaume gives renewed expression to the eternal motif of the rose as a symbol of fragile beauty. In the West Ausonius wrote: "Collige, virgo, rosas, dum flos novus et nove pubes, / et memor esto aevum sic properare tuum".⁵⁹ In the East, Firdaousi echoes him: "Let us quickly go into the midst of the flower-filled woods, and remember that ephemeral is the rose."⁶⁰ In his turn Ronsard takes up again the same theme,⁶¹ as does Herrick: "Gather ye rosebuds while ye may / Old time is still a-flying". All is there to suggest that the Dreamer begins to be lost as soon as he has his first glimpse of the rose, that is to say, as soon as his passionate love has as an object a real being.

* * *

Gardens could represent both "caritas" or earthly love. Jean de Meun⁶² uses it to represent the Celestial Paradise. This garden is openly set up as a foil to that of Dedit and Amour in the first section of the Roman de la Rose. It could also be considered as a summation of that garden were it not that the

description is put into the mouth of Genius speaking to the army of Amour under orders from Nature. Jean's Paradise is, in fact, reserved for those who use well their "instruments", yet it is a relatively unsensuous heaven in comparison to the garden of Guillaume de Lorris.

Jean skillfully blends the Golden Age of Hesiod, Ovid and Virgil with traditional Christian ideas about Paradise. His garden is better than the world under Saturn for Saturn's power, through castration, was usurped by Jupiter. The age of Jupiter is a falling away from the first period when there was no ploughing, digging, or, a feature common to many versions of the Golden Age, no law courts,⁶³ for where there are lawyers there will be strife. However there is one feature of this second period that links it to later descriptions of ideal times. Jupiter's law, according to Jean, was to "do what pleases".⁶⁴ The immediate comparison that springs to mind is to Rabelais' Thélème with its dictum: "Fais ce que voudras",⁶⁵ yet here the connotations are different. Jean rightly sees that given an imperfect world unhappiness will ensue if each person or animal chooses its own good with no reference to that of others.

In fact, when Saturn is castrated it is an end to the natural fertility of the world, yet a further case of the fecundity of the ruler influencing the richness of the country he governs. Here the sympathetic association of the lord and his lands is destroyed by Jupiter who cuts down the mellifluous oaks and dams up the wine filled rivers.⁶⁶ An interesting facet of this falling away from the Golden Age is that Jupiter puts names and numbers to the stars.⁶⁷ This idea is original to Jean de Meun and not, I think, to be found in the Ancients. The import of it appears to be that to give names and numbers to things makes finite what should be infinite and superior to man.

Jean's Paradise incorporates, through analogy, features of the Golden Age but to this he adds an almost encyclopedic version of Christian symbolism concerning perfection. Jean appears to combine theories as to the perfect origin of the world with beliefs about its rebirth with the coming of Christ and the New Kingdom.

Christ is the Good Shepherd who protects his flock of white sheep from the wolves but excludes the black sheep with their rough hair. The Good Shepherd, like the Good Pastures symbolism of the Zoroastrian paradise, is based on the analogy to a pastoral society. It is used in the Old Testament, notably in Psalm 23 and Isaiah 40: 11 but reaches its climax in John 10 : 11-16. The white, soft-fleeced sheep are perfect, unshorn, not used for food or clothing for Christ has no need for their produce since he is also the Lamb who has taken their form by the incarnation. This, is founded on John 1 : 29.

The park of the "champ joli" is round,⁶⁸ the very figure of perfection.⁶⁹ Later Ronsard in Hymne au Ciel was to write on the perfection of the heavenly movement and say that "L'esprit de l'Eternel" gave it a circular motion:

Te faisait tournoyer en sphère rondement
Pour estre plus parfaict, car en la forme ronde⁷⁰
Gist la perfection qui toute en soy abonde.

The last line is worth noting summing up as it does the perfection of the Godhead. Jean de Meun himself earlier uses the analogy of the circle as well as that of "li cercles trianguliers" and "li triagles circuliens" to represent the all perfect nature of the child born to the Virgin Mary.

The garden has many features of doctrinal value. Beyond its walls lies Hell represented by all the devils and sins and also by Cerberus. The latter is not unexpected, for Jean revels in making a synthesis between pagan and Christian learning. These devils and evil things have the poetic function of acting as gargoyles of Gothic churches: they repel those in their likeness by the very force of their ugliness. On the walls of the garden the universe is represented, or, as Jean says, the world in its richness of ancient times: "Toute la terre / o ses richeces ancienes".⁷¹ The inhabitants of land, water and air are there as well as all-encompassing fire,⁷² and beyond this the sphere of the planets and that of the fixed stars. This is a more or less accurate picture of the aristotelian cosmogony. In addition the representation of evil beyond the walls shows a decline from perfection whilst the order of the universe and of the garden itself stands for a re-establishment of the original state.

The Good Pastures are not subject to change: they are a place of perpetual Spring, everlasting day, eternal present.⁷³ We come here to one of the several allusions of Jean's to the Trinity, for, he explains, past, present and future are all contained in one time. This is a reference to Exodus 3 : 14 and is reflected in the old Mass as the "is, was and will be for ever and ever."

In this Paradise the green grass is spangled with bedewed flowers like Spring maidens or flaming stars. They do not fade at day's end but can be picked then as fresh as they were in the morning. Furthermore the flowers are instantly renewed as they are grazed upon by the "berbietes". This could well be an allusion to the Eucharist and the doctrine that the body and blood of Christ can be given to all, yet remain unchanged.⁷⁴

The fountain is an important element in the garden. One drink of it will perpetually quench thirst and give the drinker unending health and immortality,⁷⁵ a reference to Psalm 36 : 10. Whether Jean de Meun was familiar with Muslim belief is open to doubt. The Mohammedans, nonetheless, also believe in a Fountain of Life one drop of which bestows immortality. They say that Elias, who they consider was general of the first Alexander, discovered this fountain, drank of it, and hence could never die.⁷⁶ Rabanus Maurus gives the word "fons" the glosses of "Christ" and "eternal beatitude", the latter meaning based on Psalm 36 : 10. He also gives the interpretation of Holy Church using from the Song of Songs "Hortus conclusus, fons signatus".⁷⁷ All these meanings could be contained within Jean's poem and in addition the fountain is another symbol of the Trinity. The fountain wells up through three conduits that are so close together as to appear both as three and as one:

si sunt pres a pres chascune
 que toutes s'assamblent a une
 si que, quant toutes les verroiz,⁷⁸
 et une et .111. an trouverroiz.

They can never be four but their common property is to be "Tourjorz .111. et tourjorz une".⁷⁹

Other elements in the poem enforce the metaphor of the fountain and the Godhead: it rises up of itself without any other fountain to feed it; it rises

from a high point; it refreshes all the garden.⁸⁰ It is, therefore, the prime mover, not dependent on any other source but itself. Coming from on high it brings life to whatever is associated with it; it is the Godhead the "fons vitae".

The olive tree, the equivalent of the pine in Guillaume de Lorris, has a multiple significance. On one hand it represents the Tree of Life that is also the Tree of the Cross for it bears "le fruit de salu",⁸¹ and it is also Christ himself, source of salvation. According to legend the Tree of the Cross was made of the olive amongst other woods, namely the palm, the cypress and the cedar.⁸² That this tree is Christ we know from the fact that the olive is the shelter for "besteletes" and gives freshness to flowers and grass.⁸³ On the other hand the olive can also be seen as the body of Christ, the Church militant and the Church triumphant. It is fed by the source of life so that it grows high and tall, more vast than a pine.⁸⁴ Its leaves and fruit can be compared to the individual members of which the Church is composed.

As an aside, let us recall that both Paradise and the Underworld are seen in Earthly terms. In the fourteenth century English lay, Sir Orfeo, the queen is spirited away from an orchard. Her husband sets out as a simple minstrel to win her back. His music so charms the animals and birds of the wilderness, as well as the Lord of the Underworld, that he is granted his boon. Amidst the Underworld City that has many similarities to the Celestial City, Orfeo reaches a courtyard, site of anguish and turmoil, but where he finds his beloved quietly "asleep beneath an orchard tree".⁸⁵ The "orchard tree", so often a symbol of Paradise, is here the symbol of the Underworld, of living death, of forgetfulness.

Another feature of Jean de Meun's garden is that it contains a carbuncle "de grant noblese". Yet a further symbol of the Trinity, it is quite round but with three facets, each of which has the "vertu" of the other two. Unlike Guillaume's crystals that receive their light from the sun and only reflect half the garden, this stone is itself the source of light for the whole park whatever

the weather.⁸⁶ By looking at the crystal one knows not only the whole park but also oneself. The carbuncle was the magical stone, par excellence of the middle ages. It was supposed to save the wearer from injury and to avert evil thoughts and dreams. Sometimes confused with the ruby, it was meant to unite the virtues and qualities of all other stones and by extension represented force and sovereignty.⁸⁷ A very old belief, shared by Saint Augustine,⁸⁸ and which appears early in French literature,⁸⁹ is that it has the power to light up the night. So in the tower in Floire et Blancheflor it acts as a lighthouse for travellers whether by land or by sea.⁹⁰ It is also a source of truth for in this same poem we learn that the carbuncle enables the cellar-master in the darkest cellar to tell wine from "fort erbée".⁹¹

The carbuncle, since it was self-luminous and ever-luminous, could represent both the Trinity, the eternal form of God and his thought, and more specifically Christ, the Lamb of God, lantern to the whole Celestial City.⁹² This association of the carbuncle with Christ derives also from the belief that the stone was associated to Venus and therefore to love. In Jean de Meun the stone appears associated with all these things: life, light, love and truth. Rabanus Maurus' gloss on "carbunculus" adds support to this for he defines it as "lux magnae scientiae, ut in Ezechiele carbunculus dicitur operuisse primum angelum, quod lux magnae scientiae illustravit illum."⁹³

The Paradise garden in Jean de Meun, is not a simple conceit. Like Eden, God can walk in it as the Lamb with his flock yet the garden itself is also God, God incarnate and the Trinity. It blends the origin of man in his perfection with his rebirth through the incarnation. It is also the Celestial Paradise the only access to which is by the "strait gate", here the narrow path, the "estroite sante serie".⁹⁴

Other elements to this Paradise are its sweet scent and the sound of music that echoes through it. It has much in common with Arete's high estate in Methodius. This garden is like a vision of Paradise, a place of light, peace, regularity of planting, where there is fruit and scent. A breeze refreshes the

banqueters. It seems the ultimate in refined perfection and access to it is difficult.⁹⁵ It is a fitting place for a discourse on chastity. Jean de Meun's Paradise could well be a setting for a similar discussion except perhaps for the fact that in his garden there is no overt symbol of the Virgin Mary. However his avowed intentions are all other: his Paradise is not one awarded to the chaste, but those who fulfill the physical commands of Nature and Genius. However, fortunately for the poetic impact of the episode, gross sensuality is forgotten once Jean is carried away by his creation so that the reader is left with a sense of wonder at the purity of the composition.

* * *

In other cases the "hortus conclusus" is directly associated with "amour" for in a literal and spiritual way it provides the freedom, ease, space and, of course, privacy associated with the pursuit of that passion. In the Roman de la Rose the Dreamer awakes to a day of refined leisure that allows him to enter the Garden of Love and take part in its gaiety. Similarly when Lore de Branlant asks Gauvain, her lover, to visit her: "il dit que si feroit il porroit avoir & leu et aise."⁹⁶ Certain lease documents of Aix from the later middle ages attest the existence of a garden within a vegetable plot. When the enclosure was let out the owners specified that their brother-in-law should have the right of free access to the garden, "pro se spaciando". Again the idea of delight and space whilst walking in a garden is present particularly if one considers that in this case the word to stroll derives from the idea of having space.

The episode of the Castel de la Marche⁹⁷ also involves a variation of the Garden of Love. Set in a prairie with pavilions and loges with windows, the whole joust has as its aim the matching off of partners. Because of the heat the revellers dine beneath a pine, the synthesis of a garden. Then there are "caroles", the outward expression of nascent love, followed by strange promises or "gabs" which represent at a mental level what the joust was as a mark of physical strength. The culminating point of the episode is when Bohort loses

his virginity but not his valour. The progression of the story: from prowess, pleasure, love, fecundity, to joy takes place within the parenthesis of garden imagery. In Floire et Blancheflor the three gardens also reflect a progression of the love motif: the garden of Floire's father where the children relax represents the purity of first love, of a youthful idyll; the garden-cemetery is the scene of Floire's total commitment to love; the Emir's exotic garden is the place where love is ratified and two pairs of lovers are finally united.

Renaut de Beaujeu's Le Bel Inconnu provides a further example of a garden associated directly with love. It is a castle garden set in a wonderfully rich countryside and defended by a triple barrier of a river and ditches and walls.⁹⁸ The story is very similar to that of the Sparrow-hawk in Erec et Enide. The joust takes place in a large garden a bow shot in length:

En la place les un vergier
Moult fu la place biele et gente:
En mi liu ot planté une ente,⁹⁹
Qui a tos jors florie estoit.

Now the enclosed garden, the grafted tree and the fact that it always bears flowers are all charged with sensuality. Also the "amie" of Gifles is called Rose Espanie despite the fact that she is incredibly ugly and wrinkled. It is a case of love beautifying its object,¹⁰⁰ and this theme is strengthened by the fact that Gifles comes to joust wearing the love token of a chaplet of roses on his head and with his shield bearing the motif of red roses.¹⁰¹ As opposed to the Sparrow-hawk episode in Erec et Enide the reader's sympathy here goes to the loser of the joust who has set about his beloved Rose Espanie a garden with a sign of his love, the Sparrow-hawk.

With Jehan le Teinturier's Mariage de Septs Arts, the garden is a background for discussion and the scene of marriages and feasting. Like the Roman de la Rose the story is represented under the form of a dream. The author is in a flowery mead when he sees arrive the seven ladies who represent the seven liberal arts. They settle themselves beneath an enormous pine growing in the centre of the meadow and begin to talk of their desire to wed young men representing the same virtues. These ladies, in conventional style, are compared

to the fleur de lis and the rose.¹⁰² But convention here ends and a whimsical irony at the expense of women takes over. Theology, who recommends chastity as the highest virtue, discourages marriage, but Fisque feels the maidens' pulses, looks at their complexions and recommends speedy weddings, which celebrations take place with fitting music and copious wine. Only the poet is left with a dry gullet.

In a second anonymous version to this same poem the garden imagery is more specifically defined. It is a "vergier" and has a path, a grafted tree and green grass.¹⁰³ Grammar, who is the oldest and appears the wisest sits higher than the others: "Icelle s'est asis ens un plus haut estage, / Et les autres entour s'asistrent en l'erbage".¹⁰⁴ This is a rare example in medieval literature where the existence of a bench or turfed seat is implied. Albert the Great and Pietro de' Crescenzi describe them and they are copiously illustrated in fifteenth century manuscript illuminations yet in twelfth and thirteenth century literature they are remarkable by their absence.¹⁰⁵ Further garden imagery is evoked in the notion of Grammar as the fount of all wisdom from which flow the five great rivers of France.¹⁰⁶ This is a variation of the theme of Eden whence flow the rivers that irrigate the entire earth.

In this second version it is the poet who approaches the ladies by a hidden path and kneels to ask their forgiveness. Grammar, the spokesman, asks forgiveness for what: "Est ce por ce que tu t'eis embatus ici?"¹⁰⁷ No direct answer is given as to whether a sin of intrusion has been committed by a male, but at the end of the poem Fisque, probably for her too sensual attitude to marriage, is chased away. The end of this second version of the poem leaves food for reflection. The ladies all leave the garden, not for the joys of marriage, but to the uncertainty of the poet: "Ne sai qu'elles devinrent".¹⁰⁸ Yet they only do this after Musique has given the poet a song and bidden him be happy: "Je te lou que to soies envoisiés et chantans, / Et que ne soies mie bourdieres ne vantans".¹⁰⁹ The second version shows with much greater delicacy the nuances of love. Might it be an earlier version than that of Jehan le

Teinturier? Love is present in its delicate stages, but the "factum" is absent and the Dreamer, cum admirer, is recommended to stand by the rules of love in its devout and slightly distant sense.

Andreas Capellanus also makes use of the garden as a place directly associated with love. He tells of the Briton who first learns Love's commandments by achieving the quest of the gauntlet and hawk.¹¹⁰ As is almost to be anticipated, the Briton, instructed by a beautiful maiden who appears to be the envoy of the God of Love, has first to cross a cosmic barrier. It takes the form of a river with a golden bridge, the middle shaken and lashed by waves, the far side guarded by a keeper. It is a version of the Bridge of Death, for when the Briton says he desires to cross the bridge-keeper says: "Then you must be seeking death, which no stranger here has been able to escape."¹¹¹ The Briton, with difficulty, passes this barrier and arrives at a marvellously built palace in the form of a magical circle. It is set in a lovely meadow filled with the scent of many flowers. Although there appears to be no access to the palace, tables are set outside with food and there is even fodder and drink in a silver shell for the horse. The motifs of gold and silver as well as the circle suggest elements of a Paradise, whilst the existence of the banquet introduces the theme of food from an otherworld. In fact the Briton is immediately challenged by a gigantic man wielding a copper club as soon as he begins to eat. When the Briton tells of his quest, the mighty door-keeper answers: "You fool! What madness possesses you, Briton! It would be easier for you to die and come to life again ten times than to get those things you mention."¹¹² Yet through knightly valour, especially refusal to fight on horseback a man on foot, the Briton wins through and takes the gauntlet hanging from a gold column in the very centre of the palace. This is a passport to the achievement of the quest, the winning of the hawk for the Briton's lady-love and the discovery of the commandments of the God of Love. The circular palace in its flowery mead appears as a place of trial established by the God of Love to ascertain the worthiness of the Briton as his emissary in circulating a gospel of Love.

From this same Art of Courtly Love comes the description of the afterlife of those who have been wise, prolific or stingy with their favours.¹¹³ The garden is composed of three concentric circles roughly corresponding to Hell, Purgatory and Heaven. Capellanus' afterlife may be a comment on charity and chastity coloured by an ethic of physical love. The outermost section reserved for the women who have denied themselves to love has scorching earth and faggots of thorns for seats. Within is the section "Humidity" the abode of those who have loved all and sundry. In it the torments of "Aridity" are reversed: freezing water covers the ground while the sun beats down ceaselessly. In contrast, the innermost section of the garden reserved for the elect is influenced by the tradition of Earthly Paradise. A place enclosed, it is shaded completely by a spreading tree bearing all sorts of fruits and at its roots wells up a spring of sweet water alive with fishes. It is called "Delightfulness" because: "in it every sort of pleasant and delightful thing was to be found."¹¹⁴ Here are the thrones of the King and Queen of Love and couches placed by rivulets of water for the blessed. They form a court of Love with all possible pleasures including jugglers and music for their entertainment. The scene is reminiscent of fifteenth century Persian miniatures with all sensual joys represented within the frame of a Garden of Delight. In the case of Capellanus, it is open to question how serious was his commentary on love and to what extent he wrote purely for the enjoyment of the sophisticated. Whatever the case the book is an illuminating comment, even if an ironical one, on the lengths to which the pursuit of love could go.

This same touch of irony is present in the two version of the Jugement d'Amour¹¹⁵ where two girls go to a garden to discuss the relative merits of the clerk or knight as lovers. Through the garden in a valley flows a river that reflects their beauty, but they also, in an original way, echo the delight of the garden. Their clothes are fairy made, not of wool but of woven flowers, the May rose and the "glai", while the catches to these cloaks are "trois baiziers d'amours" and "cri d'oysel".¹¹⁶ It is a unique and charming way of

dressing these emissaries of Love. The girls talk beneath an olive planted by the banks of the river before making their way to the court of the God of Love. A vision of flowers goes with them for their clothes and the head-dresses they don are again described as made of roses, violets, lilies, lily-of-the valley and wild roses.¹¹⁷ Even their horses' harnesses echo the mood of gardens and love, the saddles stuffed with violets and the breastplates decorated with bells that ring like birdsong so sweet that the sound would heal the sick.¹¹⁸ The castle of the God of Love is also described in terms of garden imagery: yellow flowers and roses, cloves, cinnamon and sycamore all have their mention as part of the construction of this wonderful mansion and of course the pine has its place in the meadow. Faral feels that in the description of the garden the poet has put end to end in a pedantic way a list of instruments, stones, plants and birds,¹¹⁹ yet such an evaluation does not account for the freshness of the descriptive invention such as the girl's clothes being composed of kisses and bird cries.

The second Franco-Italian version given by Faral¹²⁰ provides further details of the garden in which the girls meet: it is filled with flowers and leaves all the year round. Towards the east is a marble fountain shaded by a tree on which two birds sing of "fin amor" and of the impossibility of a "vilain" or "malparler" to love. The abode of the God of Love is also described. It is set in a flowery mead with beyond it a forest. Water is an important element: it activates four mills that grind exotic spices and then flows into the castle of the God of Love in a fashion reminiscent of the Tower of Maidens in Floire et Blancheflor. This is the setting for the judgement on the relative merits of the knight and the clerk, a theme in vogue during the high middle ages and one naturally ironic. Here however the irony is treated with delicacy and attenuated by the gently beauty and inventiveness of the garden descriptions.

* * *

In the foregoing texts love in a garden setting is treated in a multivalent way: the sexual act can raise the soul to Paradise or debar it from Eden; love

can be the passport to achievement and can ennoble its object. The garden stands for what can be won or lost. It also represents a free mentality, or what Gide called "disponibilité", that enables a person to be a dispenser and recipient of love. This mentality combined with sensual enjoyment is frequently suggested by garden-like imagery. One must now consider the impact of the habitual Spring opening in love poetry.

Much discussion has taken place about the Spring openings in medieval poetry since Gaston Paris last century linked all lyrical poetry "aux fêtes du printemps et aux dances qui les accompagnent",¹²¹ and saw in the Spring openings a "jongleresque" modification of dance songs or women's songs in Spring. The point of departure for this motif would have been the ancient feasts of Venus, the "floralia" that became the calends of May. Similarly, Jeanroy believed that the origin of love poetry was the folksong, for it was a period when it was in vogue to attribute the origins of art forms to the people. Later others put forward the theory of an Arabic or Latin (Ovidian) source to such poetry. More recently scholars like Nykl have tended to be less dogmatic about attributing a single origin to a complex form of poetry. Nykl¹²² considers that there was a fusion of the sensual Ovid and the spiritual Plato, that these blended in the "lengua romana", and that there was probably a cross-fertilization of Graeco-Persian influence stemming from Al-Andalus. It seems to be fairly widely accepted that the Provençal troubadours were influenced by the stroph, rhyme and rhythm of Muslim art perhaps based on a Muslim song heard.

Many have criticized the monotony of the "reverdies" openings that at times are almost obligatory.¹²³ Of Peire de Valeria's use of the nature motif it was said: "Sei cantar non aguen gran valor ni el".¹²⁴ However the "reverdies" openings were not just an aesthetic response to nature. Brian Stone notes: "To feel half dead on St. Lucy's day, like Donne, or amorous in May is proper to us humans, as to animals, who are, or ought to be part of the grand harmony of nature."¹²⁵ Worth noting is the theory, based on meteorological research, that the outburst of Spring poetry in the thirteenth century coincided with a period

of unprecedented fine weather that occurred before the "little ice age" which lasted between 1430 and 1850.¹²⁶ Certain it is that in thirteenth century literature there are very frequent mentions of the heat. Knights riding doff their helmets, suffer in battle in their heat-conducting armour, rest in the shade, eat in the comparative freshness of outdoor pavilions, etc.

The "reverdie" normally announces a new event, a form of rebirth and often it is a prelude to lovers meeting. The elements are summed up in the opening lines of one of the Carmina Burana: "Salve ver optatum / amantibus gratum".¹²⁷ Here we have the core elements of the traditional love poem: Spring, song (joie), love¹²⁸ and, one may add, the garden. Zumthor¹²⁹ very correctly draws attention to the fact that these can be negated in various ways: winter, no birds or flowers, no song, no joy. They can also be negated in part by antithesis: winter, no birds but song, joy, love, or other mutations. Such variation on the basic motifs cause the affirmative parts to be emphasized, and more especially they can force the reader into a heightened sense of awareness because of the unexpected twist to a familiar pattern.

There are also numerous variations of the basic motifs that do not alter the impact of the idyllic opening: instead of the Spring opening it can be a serene night filled with the song of the nightingale that announces a fresh day; the song of birds can be replaced by the poet's song, by the hum of bees, or by a dance; the "garden" element can be hinted at; a girl may simply pick a flower, her beauty may be compared to nature or her clothes may echo natural surroundings. Often, strictly speaking, the garden exists by suggestion rather than description.

In Jean de Meun, for instance, Venus and Adonis rest under a poplar by a "vergier". There is birdsong and drinking¹³⁰ and these elements taken together are sufficient to evoke a Garden of Love. Similarly too, the wonderful pavilions in romance set either "sor le doitel d'une fontaine"¹³¹ or "desus une riviere",¹³² often shaded by a tree of grand dimensions have much in common with the "hortus conclusus". Often such settings are the scene of love as in the case of Gauvain and the Demoisele de Lis. The prelude has many elements in

common with the opening to the Roman de la Rose and these are perhaps worth enumerating: a beautiful Spring-like morning; a small river that is not a barrier; a flowery mead possessing all the sweet-smelling herbs that are in the world; a regular, circular shaped wood, the evenness of which suggests the hand of man; Gauvain's attitude of joy.¹³³ This is the prelude to his arrival at the Tent of Love, set on "eaux vives" with all the enchantment and symbolism that running waters can give.

Country and garden merge also when Gauvain meets with the sister of the "petit chevalier" by a fountain and tree.¹³⁴ The motif of the fountain shaded by a tree is ubiquitous and dates back to primitive cults of vegetation and more specifically the sacred groves of ancient Rome. In this instance the spot is a valley which suggests an enclosure of hills. It is a prelude to their courtship after the tournament where the elements are a castle garden with "loges" and a fountain with a stone or basin of marble.

L'Estoire de Merlin provides an example where the enclosed garden opens out onto the tamed forest. It is the home of Minoras, a "vavassor" and "forestier" in Northumberland where Lot and his sons receive shelter. Enclosed by a moat and by oaks and thorns, there is a small "postis" but otherwise the dwelling is hidden. Inside however is a courtyard and hospitality. This happy environment later finds extension in the Spring forest, alive with the music of birds, fresh with dew and "delitable" to Lot and his sons as they ride along. Gahariet bursts into a new song of love and then a serious discussion ensues on methods of love. Gahariet is praised for having spoken in the most courtly fashion while blame goes to Agrevain for his brutishness.¹³⁵ So often in the middle ages love and nature echo each other and suggest each other by association. The forester's wood suggests a discussion on love and mirrors that love. So in Andreas Capellanus it is fitting that the entire discussion between a man of higher nobility and a woman of simple nobility as to whether love can exist between married couples takes place in a garden: "under the shade of a pine tree of marvellous height and great breadth of spread."¹³⁶ So, too, in the Livre de

Lancelot del Lac, the hero's feelings for the Queen are shown through an indirect nature metaphor. Lancelot is absorbed in a dream world of thought as he looks upon Guinevere while she gazes at the fields and woods.¹³⁷ It is a sort of mirror play: love enters through the eyes; one gazes at a second person who contemplates a garden-type landscape, symbol of love.

Of the medieval pavilions lying beside water one of the most wonderful is the tent of Alardin which has much in common with the Garden of Love and is embellished with magical elements suitable to a master who possesses his share of enchantment. The herb-strewn pavilion is set beside a river and surrounded by a meadow with beyond it a wood filled with birdsong so gay that it dispels all Carados' pain. Above the tent are golden objects including an eagle with wings outstretched which makes the sweetest music imaginable when the wind blows; it is of the same family as the automaton birds in the Emir's garden of Floire et Blancheflor. Two "ymages" act as door-keepers and, like the magic waters in the Emir's garden, one can tell a virgin from a woman and make a discordant sound if a woman enters who sets herself as a virgin. The other "ymage" prevents any "vilain" from entering, so emphasizing the exclusive aspect of this Bower of Love.¹³⁸ In it young people engage in the courtly pastimes of song and dance, and birdsong and the scent of spices heal the wounded knights. Also Alardin's sister has knowledge of medicines and herbs and is possibly related to fairy healers.¹³⁹ As opposed to the garden of the Roman de la Rose and simpler than it psychologically, Alardin's tent is a place of harmony where rivals become friends and the sick are restored to health. This interlude of peace anticipates the three marriages that follow the rather bloody tournament at Arthur's court.

* * *

Another form of the hinted Garden of Love is the place of night enjoyment, such as that alluded to in the "Alba" of Arnant de Maroill:

En un vergier sutz folha d'albespi
Tenc la dompna son amie costa si,
tro la gaita crida que l'alba vi.
Oi Deus, oi Deus, de l'alba! Tan tost ve!¹⁴⁰

This is probably a simple "Alba" of a hidden love, with the "praz" or "jardi" a

place for love making, protected by the guard who warns of the break of day, its secrecy associated not only with the "hortus conclusus" but with the mention of the hawthorn. Now hawthorn may well be an obvious rhyme for "l'alba vi" but it is also associated with the arcane or isolation as in Bérout's Tristan where the dwarf Frocin confides to such a bush the secret that Mark has horses' ears,¹⁴¹ and so would be a fitting element to the Garden of Love. The poem could also be interpreted with the garden and the lady representing the poet's muse. In this case dawn would announce the end to a night's composition.

In Renaut de Beaujeu's Le Bel Inconnu there is a night time idyll between two adventures. The hero has to pass the Gué Perillous where Blioblieris has cruelly defended the ford for more than seven years and killed all comers. Le Bel Inconnu eventually defeats him, and with his damsel Helie crosses the waters that resemble a cosmic barrier. Towards night they come to a beautiful, enclosed, sweet-scented field:

Et quant ce vint a la vesprée
Virent en la forest un pré,
Dont moult flairoit l'erbe soue.¹⁴²

Here they dismount and settle for the night on the fresh grass in the moonlight. Almost like a herb-strewn enclosed chamber it takes the place of the "vile" or "maisson" not to be found in the vicinity. Helie sleeps beside Le Bel Inconnu, her head on his arm, and "Li lousignols sor els cantoit."¹⁴³ It is a delicate scene of intimacy, a delightful interlude before the hero's combat with the giants.

Le Livre d'Artus relates a slightly similar episode in the courtship of Sagremor and Senchaux. Sagremor has first to undergo great difficulties. The left road takes him through a fearful storm: "il tonoit, il espartoit. il ventait. il gresloit e plouoit. il faisoit si dolereus tans quil nest nus hom u siecle tant hardi a cui grant paor nen poist prendre."¹⁴⁴ All the forests are destroyed. Then comes a deceptive calm with sun and birdsong, elements in the opening of a roman, a false reprieve, for this is the land of "le brait". Sagremor, although he suffers, presses on, and by so doing defeats

the fearful sound. Possibly he is able to do this because he is pure and valiant. This is the prelude to the rescue of Senchaux. Afterwards the setting is an idyllic night: "et la lune luisoit mot cler e faisoit la plus coie nuit el la plus serie que il eust fait mais piece a."¹⁴⁵ This is the scene of a gentle flirtation: when Senchaux discovers her saviour has no lover, she encourages him by unloosing her beautiful hair and singing love songs in a soft sweet voice. Then she leads him to a secluded spot, an "ombroie", like a bower, in the most beautiful part of the forest. The fresh grass under a beech is their secluded bed, and while the horses graze, the couple pass the night making fruitful love for Senchaux conceives a daughter. The beauty of this Bower of Bliss is stressed three times, and the use of the words "deduire" and "joie"¹⁴⁶ emphasize that the forest retreat is a Garden of Love and anticipate their further enjoyment of each other in the lady's "recet".

The foregoing examples show variations of the stock theme of the Spring opening that cause mutations in atmosphere. Other variations can negate that atmosphere completely. In the C. O. F. P. there is a scene set in May or Spring with birdsong, the country and a hunt; yet there is no joy for it is the prelude to the feast where Arthur accuses his knights of treachery.¹⁴⁷ In Galeran, the hero looks out onto a garden filled with birds, "qui y font feste", but he is filled with sad musing for he is courting Flourie only for her likeness to Fresne.¹⁴⁸ In the Mort Artu Guinevere goes out into a meadow in the company of women and maidens. But there is no dancing or rejoicing, only sadness and lamenting for Guinevere is accused of murdering a knight by offering him unwittingly the poisoned fruit destined for Gauvain.¹⁴⁹ Later Girflet rides on his horse in the sunshine through woods while birds sing. But he mourns, "si dolans et si courouchies",¹⁵⁰ for he is the last survivor of the Round Table now that Arthur has sailed away on Morgain's boat. Another example is the opening of the Mort Artu: "Li iors fu biaus & clers & li solaus fu leues & luisoit sor lors armes." This is not the prelude to a festive joust but announces the horrific duel between Lancelot and Gauvain which indirectly

leads to the latter's death and announces the end of the Round Table.¹⁵¹ An example of the total negation of the Spring opening is provided by the Mort Artu when Arthur laments the death of Gauvain: "Or pues tu bien dire ke tu es el monde remes ausi nus et ausi despoillies damis carneus comme est li arbres de ses fuelles, quant la force de la gielle li est sorvenue."¹⁵² The nature imagery that so sums up tragic loneliness is perhaps only matched much later in the nineteenth century in novels such as Adolphe.

In the Roman de la Rose Guillaume de Lorris makes ambivalent use of the motifs of the "reverdie" opening and of the "locus amoenus". He builds up an atmosphere of delight only to hint at its negation three times over. Guillaume de Lorris begins his poem on a joyous note. It is Spring when the Dreamer, during a morning walk, finds himself before "un vergier grant et lé / tot clos de haut mur bataillié."¹⁵³ His wanderings forgotten including all the unexpected joys associated with a country odyssey undertaken in the month of May, "el tens ou toute rien s'esgaie",¹⁵⁴ the Dreamer is attracted by the seductive mystery of the garden. The birds in the park have for him a particular appeal, the tree tops seem to beckon to him, the crenellated wall becomes a symbolic barrier to be crossed. At this moment the Dreamer is no longer "Jolis, gais et pleins de leece", for peace has left him.¹⁵⁵ He has a compulsion to enter the garden.

Once within the garden the atmosphere develops again. Guillaume describes the real life of his period such as it was led, perhaps not in the austere court of Louis IX, but in the South with its possible Arab influence. Starting from fact, Guillaume goes on to describe an ideal state, a dream of perfection such as it was represented in Persian miniatures or described in the third day of the Decameron. In describing dancers and musicians within the framework of an ideal garden, and above all by the joyful spirit of the poetry, Guillaume offers the reader a glimpse of his otherworld. Rather than a style of simple "amplificatio" he conjures up all that is beautiful to see, to smell and to taste. The list of plants includes not only those naturalized in France but

others that Guillaume may have known through Arab influence or through the works of the Ancients. His "litany" of elements and plants has an incantatory effect, evoking as it does the richness of both the East and the West. But is there a hint of possible danger in this superabundance of things calculated to give sensual enjoyment? The answer appears to be yes, for the Dreamer is soon captivated by the ominous charm of the Fountain of Narcissus. Even once within the inner sanctum of the Rose Garden the atmosphere vacillates. Normally in the Garden of Love the jealous are banned for the place is exclusive, inhabited only by Amor's elect. Yet Guillaume's garden is peopled by enemies to the free pursuit of love and the atmosphere of youthful elation of the Dreamer is in the end negated by tension between what he desires but what is just beyond reach.

* * *

This first section of the Garden of Love revolves around the general "topoi" of garden allegory in literature as illustrated in a wide variety of sources. The origins of this set piece are beyond the scope of the present thesis but the examples of this theme show that they are variations albeit distant of Classical and Biblical sources. Set "topoi" of Spring-love-song are subject to variation and highlight different aspects of erotic poetry and the ambivalent attitude towards sex during the middle ages. What now remains to be examined is the garden as an extended metaphor of Love's progress.

CHAPTER 5 THE GARDEN OF LOVE - PART 2

A common feature to otherworld domains, whether the Paradise Garden in one of its forms or the "hortus conclusus" and Garden of Love, was that access to it was extremely difficult. This phenomenon reflects both the "realia" of medieval gardens, the notion that a cosmic barrier had to be crossed before access could be gained to a Promised Land and the idea that love itself was an otherworld. The barriers to the otherworld are of various kinds but what is common to them all is that, at their very mention, the reader is filled with a sense of anticipation aware that he is on the threshold of a semi-real and semi-magical world.¹

The most common barrier to the otherworld is water. Originally the motif may have been concerned with the sea for the sea is a separator and what beyond it is strange. It is a place of mysterious births: Aphrodite rose naked from the sea riding on a scollop shell. By extension the sea is a place of rebirth and change. Such waters are mysterious and often feared. Hesiod wrote:

Go to the sea if you must, but only
from mid-June to September - and even₂
then you will be a fool.

The idea of the otherworld as an island is common to the Ancients and to the Celts: Homer conceived of Calypso as an island dweller, while Mag Mell was either beyond or beneath the waves. The Celts became aware of a similarity between their Happy World and Eden which possessed the Tree of Life and other familiar features of the landscape of Paradise. According to common belief, the souls of the good went to Eden to await there the day of judgement. The Celts assimilated this into their "imrama" and told how their heroes who managed to find their way to the otherworld were also privileged to glimpse the Earthly Paradise.³

Descriptions of the Earthly Paradise and of the Garden of Love found in

medieval literature appear to be influenced not only by Eastern and Classical traditions, but also by Celtic descriptions. As early as 1896 Philpôt succinctly put forward this theory: "Les romans de la Table Ronde nous offrent à chaque pas de ces châteaux mystérieux, protégés par de hautes murailles, entourés par une eau profonde, abritant des coutumes étranges. C'étaient primitivement des îles lointaines, accessibles aux seuls navigateurs. (...) Les voyages des héros dans les pays féeriques nous apparaissent comme des "imrama", qui se seraient adaptés aux nécessités de la chevalerie errante et où l'élément maritime serait réduit à son minimum."⁴ The ocean is reduced to a river or moat but the connotations of this water are as fearsome as that envisaged by Hesiod.

Access to the otherworld is occasionally by boat but more often by bridge, causeway or dangerous ford. The motif of the bridge may possibly be connected to the Iranian "crossing of the separator" tradition. It was in early times used of a ford or ferry place over underground waters, but with the development of the belief in Paradise on high it became a bridge over an abyss with one end resting on the highest peak on earth, the peak of Harā, a high mountain of crystal, and the other on the road to Heaven. It can be compared to the Norse myth of a bridge leading to the home of the dead. In Zoroaster's teaching to "go to the bridge" was the equivalent of judgement day. The bridge, known as Činvat, had an initiatory quality. Good souls received strength at the sight of it: for them it was broad and safe, the width of nine spears, and they were met by beautiful maidens who led them to Paradise. But for the damned the bridge contracted to the narrowness of a blade's edge and they were pushed off it into the nether world by an old hag.⁵

A Dutch Arthurian legend, Walewein, has the motif of the Persian bridge of souls. The hero has to cross a bridge as sharp as a ploughshare over the boiling waters of Purgatory.⁶ In Chrétien's Chevalier de la Charette the sword bridge to Gorre⁷ follows this same tradition closely, particularly as Gorre, a land whence none return, has associations with the land of the dead.

Similar to this is the description of the land of Bademaguz in Le Livre d'Artus: it also has a sword bridge as sharp as a razor, as shiny as a mirror. Two copper lions made by enchantment guard the head of the bridge and beyond them, as yet a further defence, stands a knight always ready to fight "a l'utrance".⁸

In Arthurian romance, access to the Grail Castle is the subject of a "rite de passage". In some descriptions the castle resembles a crusader castle fortified with a long bridge or causeway guarded by towers.⁹ In the C. O. F. P. Gauvain can only reach the Grail Castle by passing over a "cauchie" planted with trees in the manner of an avenue.¹⁰ In this same book, Gauvain in an earlier attempt to reach the Grail Castle has to cross a forest barrier before he reaches the Blake-type scenery of rocky crags and water that bar his way.¹¹ Later Perceval in a similar quest is confronted by two bridges: one is of crystal and appears to break up as the hero crosses it, the other is an unfinished bridge that pivots on a central pillar.¹² Both bridges are over fearfully turbulent waters: one is likened to a tempest while the other is called the fastest river in the world.¹³

Bridges as barriers are not limited to the Grail Castle. Floire has to pass a bridge before he can gain access to Babylon¹⁴ and in this instance there is the motif of water, a stone and a tree that is often a signal announcing an important event. Once in Babylon there are yet further barriers to the Magic Garden of the Emir: it is encircled not only by a wall but also by a "fleuve de paradis", the Euphrates, "Ensi que riens n'i peut entrer, / Se par desus n'i peut voler".¹⁵ Oriental characteristics, the choice of plants, the importance of water, link this garden to the Biblical tradition whereby the four rivers of Eden were meant to irrigate the whole earth.

Apart from water there were other barriers to the otherworld. Sometimes it could be a "forest aventureuse" as in Chrétien's Erec et Enide, a place of mystery and evil symbolism¹⁶ that contrasts to the very real description of a medieval town in the Adventure of the Sparrow-hawk. In Le Chevalier au Lion, too, the forest forms a daunting barrier to the Adventure of the Magic Fountain.

Calogrenant takes the "right path" through it, a narrow way full of brambles and prickles.¹⁷ In Le Livre d'Artus Gauvain has to pass through a similar evil path before he wins the love of the sister of the Damsel of the Harp.¹⁸

Other barriers include walls of different forms. Eden, after the Fall, is enclosed by a wall of flames: "Cujus post peccatum hominis aditus interclusus est. Septus est enim undique romphaia flammae, id est, muro igneo accentus: ita ut ejus caelo pene junjat incendium."¹⁹ A wall of cloud isolates the Men of Winter in the *Odyssey*, and its counterpart in medieval literature is the wall of air. In Gereint the Son of Erbin the Garden of the Enchanted Games is encircled by a "hedge of mist",²⁰ and this motif was maintained by Chrétien de Troyes in the "Joie de la Cort" episode from Erec et Enide. It also has its place in Le Livre d'Artus.²¹ In that book the Garden of the Apple of Forgetfulness is also protected by giants and by the awesome "brait en l'air", a sound so terrible that it can kill. As Loomis has rightly pointed out²² this garden is in many ways similar to the "Val sans Retor" established by Morgain.²³ It was also enclosed by a wall of air and there Arthur's knights were held captive enjoying every delight with their lady loves. The wall of air theme is most often found in Arthurian literature.²⁴ Probably it is a purely imaginative device, yet worth noting is the fact that in Roman gardens walls were sometimes hidden so that the country beyond formed an extension of the garden.²⁵ This would give the impression of a "wall of air" surrounding the garden.

Commonly stone walls isolate the Garden of Love. Such an enclosure evokes the castle garden to which only the members of the privileged class had access. The garden was often contiguous to the castle but unlinked to it architecturally. In this it differs from French gardens of the seventeenth century where the castle is the focal point or unifying element to the garden. Thirteenth century descriptions of actual gardens are rare. However in 1250 Henry III of England, writing to his bailiff at Woodstock, instructed him: "to make around the garden of our Queen two walls, good and high, so that no one

may be able to enter."²⁶ The last clause reinforces the notion of exclusivity, and, in fact, this garden was essentially the private pleasure ground of the queen. Similarly Henry VI, when he endowed Eton with a garden, stipulated that "a good high wall with towers convenient thereto should encircle it."²⁷

The Capitulare de Villis, attributed to Charlemagne, confirms that as a norm medieval gardens were enclosed. He wants his royal parks "et sepes bonas in circuita habeant, et portas firmas."²⁸ Hugo of Saint Victor begins his description of a garden in like vein: "Ortus circumfoditur et circumsepitur",²⁹ while Boccaccio affirms that the garden in the Decameron "tutto era da turno murato".³⁰ This same concept of a "hortus conclusus" is found again in the writings of Pietro de' Crescenzi: "Si cinga di mura alti, quāto si conviene"³¹ is the first of his instructions for the setting up of an aristocratic garden. The phrase echoes the counsel of Columella: "Talis humus vel parietis, vel saepibus hertis / Claudatur."³² So it would seem that the enclosing of a garden in the middle ages was as common to the West as to the East.

The Persian "hortus conclusus" or Paradise Park was a very real place of sensual delight, but it also gave a foretaste of all the joys which awaited the faithful when they died. A precise symbolism was attached to each element of the garden. For instance the walls had a twofold importance: they protected the garden from the dry, sandy winds and furthermore they stood as a symbol of exclusivity and of the paradisiacal perfection that reigned within.

* * *

In the Garden of Love, walls represent not only contemporary "realia" but mark it out as an enclave or world centre. The walls symbolize exclusivity and entry into the garden is an initiation to love. The motif highlights the theme of within/without, of the elect and those rejected. Brunissen's garden in Jaufre is surrounded by a wall of marble: it is "un verger tot claus de marbre" entry to which is through a door "Gran et bela e bien obrada". Even if access to the garden through the open door is easy for Jaufre, the garden is nonetheless associated to the tradition of the otherworld. In savouring the

delights of the garden, the hero, just like the Dreamer in the Roman de la Rose, believes himself to be "dins de parais".³³ Above all it is by entering into this garden that the hero comes to discover love. The garden of the Queen of Love in Andreas Capellanus is enclosed by wall, a symbol of segregation.³⁴ Only the elect, those who have followed the precepts of the God of Love, can enter there. Those who have denied themselves to love or who have loved unwisely are excluded. This garden, in that it is a Garden of Love, represents the joys of the life to come.

In the Roman de la Rose the crenellated walls are symbolic. The Dreamer approaches the garden through an idyllic Springtime landscape, that time, par excellence, of love and joy, when the woods are flushed with green and the ground is fresh with dew. Nonetheless the garden is separated from everyday life, and the river along which the Lover walks with no other aim than "por oir des oisiaus les sons"³⁵ may well be the river of life,³⁶ of a life without point. In the C. O. F. P. Gauvain, in the prelude to his amorous adventure with the Damsel in the Tent comes to a pleasant stream, "Qui n'est pas lee ne parfonde"³⁷ which he easily crosses. Like that of the Roman de la Rose it does not pose a barrier, yet, like old habits, it has to be left behind. Different is the water barrier of Pearl:³⁸ it divides the beautiful landscape in which the poet roams from the Celestial City and his loved one, the Queen. The waters are not turbulent but they are deep and "cosmic". The poet cannot cross them to attain bliss, but this leads to a reconciliation with himself and his lot.

In the case of the Roman de la Rose, Guillaume underlines various aspects of the exclusiveness of the garden: it is a place "ou onc n'avoit este bergiers",³⁹ where entry is allowed to only the well-born. On one hand the poem announces a refined Golden Age, the counterface of Virgil's Bucolics which were peopled with shepherds, and on the other hand the key word may contain a veiled allusion to the Good Shepherd, for Christ is not the shepherd of the inhabitants of the garden. In addition the phrase shows the autonomous aspect of the garden, or what Eliade terms "l'exclusivité sociale":⁴⁰ daily life and

those who work humbly have no place there. Andreas Capellanus, too, excluded the "vilain" generally from serving in Love's court. He compared the serf involved in the work of Venus to a horse or a mule and warned that should he be stirred by Cupid's arrows dire consequences would ensue and the land would lie fallow and useless. His supreme contempt for the lower classes is harsh: he recommends that if an aristocrat should fall in love with a peasant girl, he should flatter her and take her by force.⁴¹ "Vilains" are often considered "dark as Moors", compared to donkeys that should be isolated from man, and it was believed that they were hated by God. No amount of money can change his status for he is by nature gross.⁴² In the Jugement d'Amour⁴³ a "vilain" cannot be the object of love, and in the refrains to dances he is often excluded as is the "jaloux" and those who do not love.⁴⁴ The eighteenth century attitude to the "bon sauvage" was unknown in the middle ages, for it is a sentimental attitude and an urban myth. Instead a medieval proverb has it: "mieux vault cortois mort que vilain vif."

"Les ymages et les peintures"⁴⁵ on the exterior of the wall accentuate the social exclusivity which is a distinctive sign of Guillaume's garden: they represent different sins against the courtly code. These allegorical figures are like the gargoyles that protected Gothic cathedrals from hostile forces, offering as it were a mirror image to the forces of evil and so turning them away.⁴⁶ Already in the Roman gardens there was a parallel to this in the Priapus figures that turned away evil forces. The same phenomenon is found in Roman literature. Apuleius specifies that the marvellous castle where Psyche finds herself has no locks nor guardian, but on the outside of the walls were pictured beasts who seemed to be about to attack the intruder: "bestiis et id genus pecudibus occurrentibus ob os introeuntium."⁴⁷ The Byzantine romance, Hysmène et Hysménos, written around 1200, offers a certain similarity to the Roman de la Rose in the use Eumathios Macrembolites gives to the figures: although on the inside of the wall and not having the function of a foil, the young girls have an allegorical meaning just like the portraits described by

Guillaume de Lorris.⁴⁸ The debt of the Byzantine novel to the European novel has already been established and it may well be that the influence was reciprocal.

With Guillaume, the representation of those excluded shows a transposition of the Christian Paradise. The allegorical figures, explained by the "moral" and social features of carefree love, show how this had established its own code of the elect and the damned. The sculptured wall suggests: "how this 'hortus conclusus' is both a brilliant and a desperate replacement of one kind of Eden by another",⁴⁹ for worldly values have replaced moral values.⁵⁰ In addition phrases such as "paradis terrestre" and "espiritables" can be troubling in a love romance. Although the context is secular, the word "paradise" maintains something of its potential meaning and presupposes the existence of another sort of Paradise. When the Lover declares: "qu'il n'est nus graindre paradis / d'avoir amie a son devis",⁵¹ his affirmation cannot be isolated from a Christian framework. To praise love in these terms can be reduced to a direct evocation of Divine love and of the idea of "caritas".

The Dreamer of the Roman de la Rose, having sighted the crenellated walls from the world outside, is seduced by the mystery of the garden. He searches for an "eschiele" or a "degré", a "pertuis" or a "voie" which would enable him to enter the garden. Finally he discovers a "huisset moult bien serré". Already the garden resembles an otherworld, autonomous, isolated in space, time and history,⁵² difficult of access. Even once before the door the Lover insists on the difficulty of entering the garden. Not only is the "guichoit" made of hornbeam, a wood noted for its strength, but the Lover has to knock tenaciously at the door before it is opened:

Asses i feri et bouté,
et par maintes foiz escouté⁵³
si j'oroie venir nule ame.

These words echo Christ's "knock and it will be opened unto you", but above all they highlight a universal symbolism, the need to cross over a cosmic threshold. So this episode can be considered as a variation of the bridge in Persian literature whereby the elect gained access to Paradise.⁵⁴

A closer resemblance is to the Garden of Paradise in Gerbert de Montreuil. Perceval awakens after his visit to the Grail Castle to find himself in a country of unsurpassed beauty watered by a river. The hero is so enraptured he thinks to find himself in a paradisiacal place. Before him is an enclosure of red and white crenellated walls and beyond it comes the tantalizing sound of music and merriment, the equivalent to the alluring birdsong in the Roman de la Rose. Perceval attracted by the light and joy within the garden, tries his mightiest to get in: he calls repeatedly and bangs so hard on the door with the Grail sword that he breaks the weapon. A venerable grey-haired man more suitable as a door-keeper than Oiseuse opens the door a fraction and speaks harshly to Perceval. The hero will have seven and a half years more anguish for having broken the sword and for his sin of temerity in trying to force his way into the Celestial Paradise.⁵⁵ Perceval, because he is unworthy, cannot enter, and Paradise vanishes as he rides away.

More successful in the "rite de passage" was the hero of Huon de Bordeaux, a poem referring to a Bordelais noble of the ninth century. The reader is witness to Huon's difficulties when he seeks an audience with the Emir of Babylon. After long discussions with the gate-keeper the drawbridge is lowered and the massive entrance door is opened, but Huon has yet to traverse a passage with four bridges before he can enter the oriental garden with its Fountain of Youth.⁵⁶

Ban's entrance to the Castel del Mares also represents a passing over rite. The castle is well-defended with an entrance so narrow that a horse cannot turn in it. There are circular towers and a double moat so wide that Ban has to blow a magical three-fold wind of the horn and even then he wonders whether the sound will reach across the water. The castle is like an island, and within it is a marvellous pine and a meadow that covers "un quartier de terre".⁵⁷ The crossing to the castle, like entry into Guillaume's garden, proves to be an initiation to love, for there Ban sleeps with Agrevedain's daughter and fathers Lancelot.⁵⁸

The single narrow door in the Roman de la Rose that the Lover must go through to gain entry to the garden shows a lowering of a Christian notion, or more precisely a Christian detail inserted into that Land of Dreams that Guillaume creates, a land that rivals Eden and is an extension of the Earthly Paradise. The "huisset mout bien serré"⁵⁹ is evocative of the "strait gate" of Luke XIII : 24 and, according to medieval glosses, "porta" signified "Christ".⁶⁰ The "strait gate" or "petit sentier" also signified the New Law, or "strait path", beautiful and shaded by fruit-bearing trees that represented the apostles and prelates of the Church. The broad highway with its brigands stood for the Old Law and the devils.⁶¹ But Guillaume's door is guarded neither by the Saviour nor by a person of the moral status of Saint Peter: there is only the maiden Oiseuse who authorises access to the garden. The Garden of Love is a Paradise closed to those who lack leisure,⁶² for the idle are vulnerable to the assault of sexual temptation.

The "pucele (...) assez gente et bele" who "En sa main tint un miroer",⁶³ may be based on the gothic figure of Luxuria who, for instance, on the west facade of Notre Dame traditionally holds a mirror and a comb.⁶⁴ Such a figure appears in the C. O. F. P.: the hero, searching for the Grail Castle, is faced with the insurmountable barrier of a deep and fast water with no bridge or ford across. Then he sees under the shade of an almond tree, a girl combing her hair who offers to row him to the other side.⁶⁵ Perceval's horse pulls back, an omen of evil, and a ferry man warns Perceval that the girl is trying to drown him. This maiden could well represent Luxuria, and the falling into her power could stand for a sin that would forever bar Perceval from reaching the Grail Castle. However in the case of Guillaume de Lorris, the kindness of his character, Oiseuse, discourages a developed comparison to the incarnation of a vice.

* * *

Exclusivity is represented in the form of barriers, in the sense of those left beyond the Garden of Love and also in a way the garden is epitomised by the

Tower of Maidens. The Tower of Maidens is the inner sanctum of the garden. Guillaume introduces, at first discretely, this concept. He describes Lady Reson "qui de sa tor aval esgarde".⁶⁶ There she sees the Lover and goes to meet him: "Lors est de sa tor devallé".⁶⁷ It is common trait to medieval gardens that there was easy access to them from the ladies' apartments. Chrétien de Troyes in Cligès, describes the enclosed garden which communicated directly with the marvellous tower and which was a real Paradise for the lovers who sought refuge there against the persecution of the family. Brunissen, the heroine of Jaufre, who was condemned to cry out in anguish six times a day, can only recover her calm at night before going to bed by listening to the birds singing in her garden that lies directly beneath the ramparts: "Mais les ausels vai escouter / Del vergier q'es al pe del mur".⁶⁸ Similarly in the prose Lancelot, that knight "entra en un vergier desouz la tor, qui molt est biaux et pleins d'arbres ...",⁶⁹ whilst Chaucer describes Creseyde who goes "adoun the steyre"⁷⁰ to the garden.

Guillaume's originally square garden,⁷¹ possibly a reflection of the heavenly Jerusalem or of the "Holy of Holies"⁷² is transformed into a variation of the Tower of Maidens, a castle fortress, prison for the rose. With its four doors and its orientation to the cardinal points it is linked both to contemporary crusader castles and to ones mentioned in literature, for example Andreas Capellanus' Palace of Love with its four doors, each with a precise symbolism, opening towards the compass points.⁷³ The theme of the Tower of Maidens occurs frequently in Arthurian literature, associated with Morgain and the Celtic otherworld.⁷⁴ In the C. O. F. P. there are frequent mentions of towers inhabited by maidens and even one constructed by maidens so that its stones were unsoiled by the hand of a mason or "vilain".⁷⁵ Sometimes the tower had unsalubrious connotations: in such a place the enchanter Eliavrés and the mother of Carados make shameful merriment.⁷⁶ At other times it was given a moral significance: when Galaad delivers the "Chastiuns as Puceles" in the Queste, a hermit explains that it is Hell and the maidens are the souls

locked there before the passion of Christ. They are likened to "flor de lis" not because of their physical whiteness but because they are "pures et netes",⁷⁷ and Galaad, in fighting the seven knights that represent the seven deadly sins, becomes a Christ-like figure rescuing souls.

These towers had the primary function, as in the Roman de la Rose, of isolating the women. Such is the "Tour des Puceles" in Gerbert de Montreuil. It is a stronghold inhabited only by saintly women: "Car senechal ne connestable / N'ot el chastel, se dames non".⁷⁸ Similarly Guinevere retires to a tower to watch her honour being defended against the false Guinevere,⁷⁹ and later, when threatened by Mordred, she takes refuge in the Tower of London.⁸⁰ Montbrun, Brunissen's castle, is in this tradition: it has a central keep and crenellated towers and houses five hundred maidens. Yet more marvellous is the "Tour d'Antiquité" in Floire et Blancheflor with three levels of arches wonderfully constructed of marble and precious woods, and its walls painted with historical feats. In it are twenty-seven rooms for the twenty-seven maidens, and, just like the incredible tower that hides Fenice,⁸¹ it has amazing plumbing with water circulating to each room. It is the domain of women and as such meant to be kept pure: there are no serpents in the tower and its inhabitants are closely guarded by eunuchs.⁸² Yet it comes to be associated with flowers and love: Floire is smuggled inside in a basket of flowers and there he and Blancheflor keep their love-tryst until they are betrayed by their morning laziness. However perhaps the closest similarity to Guillaume's rose being locked in the citadel with the old hag is in Aucassin et Nicolette where the indomitable heroine is shut in a tower: "en une canbre la fist metre Nicolete en un haut estage et une vielle avuec li por compagnie et por soiste tenir."⁸³

Castles such as these were a variation of the mountain in medieval literature, the very symbol of unattainability.⁸⁴ The dwelling place of Venus was situated on a mountain and inaccessible to man.⁸⁵ In the Avesta, Yima's garden is situated on a high hill, and according to tradition Paradise was on a mountain reaching up to the heavens.⁸⁶ In medieval mythology the Mountain of

Paradise was sometimes surrounded by a ditch where Purgatory lay.⁸⁷ Following this mythological geography the Lover of the Roman de la Rose at the end of Guillaume's section of the poem would be placed at the site of Purgatory, and the castle would represent the inaccessibility of love.

* * *

Already the Roman de la Rose shows the uncertainty of love's progress; other gardens are also precisely linked with the various steps in the "dance of love".

First of all it is an almost conventional place for the first element in the progression of love: the love tryst. In Bérroul's Tristan, the fountain pine, "perron" and "ente" of the first scene are a set piece later made more particular by certain added elements: namely that it is a new garden, enclosed by a wall with an opening of some sort and that contains a channel of water or stream, a thick "jagloiz" and thorn bushes.⁸⁸ This is where the lovers were wont to meet, and such a rendezvous was judged by the spies to be as incriminating as a visit to Iseut's bed. Although this facet is not harshly judged, it is the place where Iseut deceives Mark. Rather, emphasis is placed on the aspect that even an enclosed garden is not a place where the lovers can meet safely, and this is further reinforced by the fact that it is the link between the chamber and the outside world of the spies: they pass through it and peer at the lovers through a slit in the curtain.⁸⁹

Lancelot's liaison with Guinevere is also linked with the "hortus conclusus". His first tryst when the Queen gives him a kiss as a love-token takes place in a meadow enclosed by bushes.⁹⁰ His yet more private meeting with the Queen, while Arthur is betrayed and imprisoned by Camille, is in a chamber overlooking an enclosed garden bounded by deep water and marshland:⁹¹ this chamber within a garden is the place of the summation of his love. On further assignations Lancelot passes through this garden with its "huisset" or "strait gate" to achieve his "ioie".⁹² As in Bérroul, the author here does not condemn the lovers, and there are connotations of purity in the ceremony that takes

place within the chamber by candle-light.

Renaut de Beaujeu in Le Bel Inconnu describes the love tryst of the hero with "La Pucele as Blanches Mains" on L'Isle d'Or, a splendid isolated castle built with crystal-like walls, silver covered vaults, and lighted by the ever-popular magical stone, the carbuncle.⁹³ Already the reader has a foretaste of the marvellous. Before Le Bel Inconnu can enter the castle an episode takes place that is very similar to Chrétien's "Joie de la Cort". The hero has to fight the hated defender of the castle in a joust-yard surrounded by pointed posts, each bearing the head and arms of a defeated knight. The difference between the two episodes is that the maiden of the castle does not love the knight, as is the case in Chrétien, and she rejoices when he is overcome. Nonetheless both stories must have a common antecedent. At this juncture Guinglain as victor, is promised the hand and estates of "La Pucele as Blanches Mains",⁹⁴ but involved as he is on a quest, he takes French leave of her.

It is only later that he returns after he has discovered his name and lineage in the episode of the "Fier Baiser". This may well represent a stage in his education and self knowledge, Before arriving at this status he was incapable of real love, but now he is equipped with the necessary qualities to be worthy of a love tryst. The meeting takes place in a garden⁹⁵ that opens from the castle, and, in hispano-moresque style, there are windows in the marble surrounding wall. The wall is also a microcosm for on it are depicted all of God's creation. There then follows a list of the trees in the garden: the poet says it contained all the trees made by God and he names seven species. Then comes a list of many "herbe de bonte" that the garden possessed; eleven are named, and finally the enumeration reaches its culminating point in the mention of the many ever-blooming rose bushes. In this garden birds sing perpetually and the scent is so good: "Que cil qui s'estoit laiens mis / Quidoit qu'il fust en paradis".⁹⁶

This is the operative word, "paradise". We are in fact presented with the epitome of all that is good in God's creation. The description is virtually

a summary of various elements in the Roman de la Rose but the psychological aspect is not taken so far. Nonetheless the garden does represent the moral and physical worth of its owner and it also reflects the joy of the two young people. Guinglain goes to the meeting wearing a special robe, the gift of his friend, a token it appears not only of love but of a form of rebirth. He finds his "amie" beneath an olive and together they sit on a silken coverlet for there are no seats it would seem in this garden. The olive is a fitting emblem for a couple who here begin to come to terms with each other. Earlier Guingalin had put a strain on his friend's affection by leaving her without a goodbye, now she tries out his love by words, by hiding her "corage". This is a prelude to the further most amusing trials in the castle at night when Guinglain attempts to visit her chamber and is shamed before the servants by the enchantments of his fairy mistress. The garden in this poem is more than a developed version of that in "Joie de la Cort", it represents a birth to love, to a new life. The connotations of both the Earthly and the Heavenly Paradise are present, but in a less disturbing way than in the Roman de la Rose. There is the aspect of a form of trial in the garden, but not the breaking of a taboo.

In the Livre de Lancelot del Lac there is described the reunion of Perse and Hector and their avowal of love which is ratified by a time of ease in the castle park and garden. They mount palfreys and ride about admiring the strength and beauty of the place, and then take a secluded grassy path: "vne voye herbeuse qui nestoit mie granment hantee de gens",⁹⁷ to a tamed and delightful forest. All this points to a love that is free and not clandestine; openness and movement are the key elements. Next comes the equivalent of the Bower of Bliss. The riders dismount in the shade and the squires go to make a chaplet of "fleuretes"⁹⁸ for their mistress. When it is put on her head she is filled with happiness: "et elle sen Rit et Ioie ne se ne luy souvient de nul mal quelle ait trespasse quant elle voit devant elle celui dont sa Ioie luy vient,"⁹⁹ Joy, forgetfulness of past sorrows and talk of love are the features of this reunion, continued into the night when the company goes to the castle

garden to desport themselves. The parting to come next day is not anticipated; love has its brief moment of pure joy.

In the "dance of love" the garden also holds its place as a scene for retrograde steps. The courtship there, for instance, can be a courtship manqué. This is the case in the Mort Artu where Gauvain makes advances to the Maid of Escalot in a "praiel" behind the castle.¹⁰⁰ Mordred and the others leave them alone to talk, much as Lancelot was left with Guinevere in the meadow,¹⁰¹ but this privacy serves to no avail. Also in Ami et Amile Belissant does not succeed in wooing Amile, even within the castle garden.¹⁰² She is inflamed with love, but he rejects her having been forewarned of the dangers of courting the Emperor's daughter. Certain motifs of the "grand chant courtois" are there but mutual love is lacking.

Similarly in the relationship of Lancelot and the Queen, he is miserable even in the most idyllic, private places if far from her. So he mopes on Galehot's island retreat of Sorelois, despite the delights the country and woodland had to offer: "Mais nus deduis ne plaisoit a lancelot".¹⁰³ Even with Helenie at his whims he is sad on Lille de Joie where he weeps daily beneath a pine,¹⁰⁴ the very picture of heroic anguish.

In the Chastelaine de Vergi again elements of the "grand chant courtois" are used with contradictory implications.¹⁰⁵ The story is told with an almost skeletal brevity, but although the garden is only described as having a huge tree that hides the Duke, it assumes such a significance that "Vergi" was interpreted as "Verger". The heroine was considered as the mistress of the Bower of Bliss, the stages in her relationship with her chevalier taking place in her manor surrounded by its garden. The garden, with the delightful note of the little dog who plays the conventional role of "Ami", is the scene of reunion but also the place of betrayal where they are spied upon by the Duke. The very mention of the garden represents the need for secrecy, and this secrecy is the very essence of their covenant of love. Yet the twist to the tragic little story hinges around the impossibility of secrecy. A taboo is

broken, an element in the "grand chant courtois" is absent.

* * *

Various associations of the garden with love have been made, and this is especially the case if its connotations are a Chamber of Love or if it contains the element of a bower. From an early date the Egyptians had bowers of supported vines, but the medieval arbours are probably unconnected. In Roman times vines or ivy were grown trailing from tree to tree and possibly a sophisticated development of this is Crescenzi's elaborate growing house or "palagio" with windows and walls formed by entwined branches.¹⁰⁶ The arbour was certainly an important feature of medieval gardens providing a shady spot and an outdoor room.

The English word, "bower" derived from the Saxon "bur" or "bure" is related to "buan" meaning "to dwell" and denoted something in the nature of an inner chamber or sanctum. The O. E. D. gives it the meanings of bedroom, lady's private apartment as well as arbour, but already in Chaucer's time the word appears to have latent sensual connotations.¹⁰⁷

Of course, as is so frequently the case with imagery, the bower can represent simplicity as opposed to sensuality. This is the case in L'Estoire where Joseph, son of Joseph of Armithea, and his people in Britain spend the night "en fuellies et en ramees".¹⁰⁸ This is a sign of Christian simplicity for the people go humbly dressed and barefooted and are the elect. The bower is also associated to the cult of the Virgin, especially to celebrations in her honour during the month of May or more precisely at Pentecost. Gaston Paris sought to associate this rite with May Day Spring festivals, but Ernest Langlois disputes the hypothesis.¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless celebrations were often assimilated to the Pentecost feast so the theory of Gaston Paris cannot be disregarded.

At times, the bower has merely the neutral impact of a place providing a make-shift shelter,¹¹⁰ but more generally security at least is implied. In the Livre de Lancelot del Lac, for instance, Gauvain can spy out the passers-by

on the highroad from a "foillie" completely unseen and feeling so safe that he allows himself to be disarmed.¹¹¹ Similarly the forest bower, strewn with herbs in Bérout's Tristan is a place of refuge to the wandering lovers. They feel so secure in it that they lie there together unguarded and would have been helpless to escape Mark's revenge had it not been for the sword placed between them.

The sensuality suggested in Tristan's bower is more blatantly described in the episode of Gauvain and the Demoisele de Lis in the C. O. F. P.¹¹² Gauvain comes upon a marvellous pavilion surrounded by a bower with only a small entrance, again a version of the "strait gate". The tent is in harmony with the landscape for it is painted in different colours with garden elements: birds and flowers adorn it, there is a golden eagle above, and inside it is strewn not with grass, but with fresh scented flowers.¹¹³ Altogether it is a Bower of Bliss. Gauvain in a rather unknightly fashion quickly causes the girl to lose the name of "pucele" and become "amie et demoisele", and he then ruthlessly sets upon the girl's father and brothers who arrive to defend her honour. It is not one of the most courtly episodes in Arthurian literature but it does illustrate the sensuality evoked by the very mention of a bower.

Colin Musset is a master at conjuring up visual and tactile sensations. He blends in a unique way lightness and sensuality, his love with gargantuan feasts. In "Quant je la tieng ou prael"¹¹⁴ the suggestion is of a garden enclosed, a flowery mead with bushes growing all about forming a bower for physical enjoyment. The sensuousness of his landscapes, their fullness is perhaps best represented in "Quand le malos bruit",¹¹⁵ with the bee as an emblem of the ripeness of nature and mankind.

More graceful is the association of love with the arbour in Provençal poetry. Guillaume IX ends his Chanson VIII, "Farai chansoneta nueva" by the wish that he may kiss his beloved "en cambr' o soz ram", one more time lest he should die.¹¹⁶ Arnaut Daniel echoes this with the phrase: "jauzirai joi en vergier o dinz cambra".¹¹⁷ Jaufre Rudel in "Quon lo rius de la fontana"

takes up the same motif. The setting is a traditional Spring one: clear waters, the dog rose in flower and the nightingale singing on the bough. Rudel regrets his distant love and longs to possess her: "dinz vergier o setz cortina".¹¹⁸

The garden connotations of the bower were so strong that the legend grew up that Fair Rosamund's bower was a garden maze, and it comes as a shock to know that it was probably a series of chambers¹¹⁹ more like the tower in Cligès or the Cretan labyrinth. It is more in keeping with our imaginings when Shakespeare has Hero send a message to his cousin Beatrice bidding her to:

steal into the pleached bower,
Where honeysuckles, ripen'd by the sun,
Forbid the sun to enter; - like favourites
Made proud by princes, that advance their pride¹²⁰
Against that power that bred it.

* * *

It is a natural progression for an enclosed garden to become something confining; from a room it can turn into a prison. The erstwhile free wanderer in the garden becomes a captive either in a physical or a metaphorical way. In medieval romance the garden as a prison-metaphor tends to represent the bondage of love in one of its forms.

L'Estoire de Merlin offers a prime example of this theme. Merlin's entire friendship with Viviane is summed up in garden or nature imagery. His meeting with Viviane takes place in a forest setting by a spring or fountain where the young girl was wont to come and play. In this instance the forest represents openness and freedom and the well of the fountain, described as "moult biaux et moult clers" with gravel that shone so that it appeared to be silver,¹²¹ stands for the fresh water of youth. Although not called a "fontaine de jouvence", Merlin beside it takes on the form of a beautiful youth. Furthermore the mention of silver evokes the medieval lore attached to precious stones and metals. Now silver could represent "eloquium spirituale" or the martyrs according to Rabanus Maurus¹²² and either of these glosses is fitting.

Merlin and Viviane engage first in discussion and later Merlin becomes a martyr to love.

The second stage of their courtship involves a trial of Merlin's power. He is, at this stage, as a huntsman of love, setting lures for his friend. To impress her, he draws a magic circle¹²³ on the ground and within it conjures up the very epitome of a Garden of Love. There is a castle and about it an orchard of sweetly smelling flowers and fruit, and it is peopled by a whole court complete with its jesters who begin "les caroles et les dances".¹²⁴

The stage appears to be set for a love idyll, but even as it takes form there appear ominous forebodings. The singers, now that Merlin has created them, have an independence of their own like that of Adam and Eve. The refrain to their song anticipates what is to come: "voirement sont amors a ioie commencies et finissent a doler."¹²⁵ Into the garden arrive knights to "bohorder" It is only a mock war, yet as Merlin himself said, a joust can turn to disaster through jealousy.¹²⁶ The admiration in which Viviane held him soon turns to jealousy of his powers: in fact she only promises Merlin her love provided he will teach her his art, and the garden remains as a witness of this pact of love for knowledge. He begins by showing her how to create a great river, and Viviane writes all down on parchment. Great waters contrast with the clear fountain in the forest: the former can pose a threat, or as a contemporary proverb says: "il vaut mieux boire a la fontaine que au ruiseau." Furthermore the writing down of something gives permanence and power. Moses ratified the covenant with Yaheveh by writing down the commandments¹²⁷ and a Latin saying is: "Verba volant, scripta manent." Viviane assumed a permanent ascendancy by setting her powers down in writing. A further anticipation of what is to come takes place when Merlin tells his master, Blaise, of his love and Blaise immediately fears that by this Merlin will lose his powers.¹²⁸ But Merlin turns a deaf ear to warnings and continues teaching Viviane.

The denouement is inevitable: the more a lover tells, the more he is vulnerable, for barriers are let down. At a rational level Merlin is aware of

what is happening for when he leaves Blaise to return to Viviane, he says that he: "nauroit iamaiz poir de li laissier ne daler ne de uenir a son uoloir."¹²⁹ Yet he alone teaches Viviane the fatal secret: how to imprison a man by witchcraft. The setting is Brocéliande, that forest of the magical fountain, beneath a flowering hawthorn. The hawthorn is a symbol of Spring, of Viviane's burgeoning powers, but more especially in Celtic legend it is linked to fairies and magic,¹³⁰ and in the Roman de la Rose it is the lurking place of Danger.¹³¹ The couple sit in the shade, often a symbol of the sin of "luxuria",¹³² and here in fact Viviane puts Merlin to sleep through her sensuous touch. She it is, now, who forms a circle around Merlin and the tree and turns it into a castle-prison.¹³³ Merlin can never leave the place, and only once will his voice be heard by the outside world when he pronounces his fault: "Et iou fui si fols que iaim plus autrui que moi."¹³⁴ The "hortus conclusus" has become a prison. Christ's teaching: "Love thy neighbour as thyself" has been set aside. Unwise love has turned to self-destruction.

A parallel to this is the "Joie de la Cort" episode in Erec et Enide. There the garden is a Place of Delights, of secret love, a "séjour enchanté", but it is a prison for Mabonograin and a place of death for vanquished knights. Mabonograin is bound, as was Merlin, by a rash promise given for love; both have loved too well. Neither Merlin nor Mabonograin are criticized for free love, rather both represent a sensual and mystical passion which could lead lovers both to an erotic/spiritual union or to their fate.

Chrétien provides strange variations of the Garden of Love in the "Joie de la Cort" episode which must be looked at in conjunction with Brandigan. Brandigan, like other mysterious castles of the Arthurian cycle, is protected by high walls and surrounded by deep water, a variation on the theme of the otherworld as seen as a distant island. It is a place of strange customs: Givret warns of the "mal trepas", yet it is also famous for its hospitality.¹³⁵ This latter characteristic has caused H. Newstead to equate Brandigan with the Celtic Bran, renowned for his hospitality and to associate "Joie de la Cort"

with the horn of abundance and testing horn.¹³⁶ Yet one must not ignore the fact that the inhabitants of Brandigan pity Erec when he arrives to undertake the adventure,¹³⁷ for it is as if he is entering a land of the dead, like Gorre or the Garden of the Apple of Forgetfulness.

The garden is, in fact, a prison and those who enter it go to their death.¹³⁸ Enclosed by its wall of air, a widespread form of barrier not just associated with the druidal mist, it also appears to be defended by the heads of the vanquished on their spikes. This seems to be a Celtic custom, a development of an ancient head-hunting tradition, yet it is widespread in folktale and known even in Roumanian.¹³⁹ It would seem that the impaling of heads and the placing of spikes at a boundary line were connected with a semi-religious ritual of defence, similar to that connected with cannibalism. At certain times a thing can be something other than its normal condition of an object. In this case a portion of the dead body could assume the power of that person. Mircea Eliade writes that in certain tribes "l'os d'un mort possède le 'mana' (or mysterious force) parce que l'âme d'un mort s'y trouve."¹⁴⁰ If this be born in mind, the heads on spikes would assume a two-fold importance. Firstly they would act like the allegorical figures outside the wall of the garden in the Roman de la Rose: by their power or "mana" they would turn back figures in their own likeness, just as gargoyles were meant to do. Secondly, the strength of the dead person's spirit would be assimilated by the defender of the place and cause him to be almost invincible.

It has variously been suggested that the "Joie de la Cort" episode represented the myth of a dark god who captured a maiden, as Guinevere was captured,¹⁴¹ that the story is a semi-rationalized version of a knight under the spell of an enchantress and forced to fight all comers,¹⁴² or of the love of a mortal for a fée who keeps him prisoner by a charm.¹⁴³ Chrétien's story contains elements of all these but not the "sens". Mabonograin is tall, but not a giant nor invincible; his "amie" is not a fairy but Enide's cousin. The episode does not explain how the garden was set up, but the only "charm" seems

to be that of exclusive love.

The "Joie de la Cort" episode differs much from the other examples where heads on stakes are mentioned. In L'Atre Périlleux there is no garden and the story involves a punishment for what is close to an "infidelity", for the girl maintained that Arthur's knights were more valourous than her lover. In Le Bel Inconnu "La Pucele of L'Isle d'Or", although she has an enchanted, otherworld abode, a mysterious castle of crystal-like stone lighted by a carbuncle,¹⁴⁴ seems to be the victim of Maugiers le Gris. His love is a tyrannical one, and the poem succinctly sums up this type of passion: "Amors de force petit vaut".¹⁴⁵

Possibly the closest relationship to "Joie de la Cort" appears in an episode from the C. O. F. P., the adventure of the Deserted Castle. A path in the forest, turning to the right, the side that seems often to imply a correct choice and a benevolent fate, leads Gauvain to a strongly fortified castle in a deep valley. As he rides in through the open door it falls behind him and nearly crushes the hindquarters of his horse. This motif of automatically moving doors or bridges common to much medieval literature seems to be a signal to the reader that the chosen one has arrived at his destiny. Gauvain now has to fight the Knight who has been commanded by his Lady to do battle with all comers in the hope that he will eventually slay Groreas, a Knight who had raped the Lady. Gauvain defeats the Knight and breaks this "custom". By this action he also frees all the maidens held captive since their knights were slain.

The motif of joy is strong in this episode. The delivered maidens thank Gauvain "De ce que rendu lor a joie",¹⁴⁶ and they ride off "totes molt joiens et molt liees".¹⁴⁷ However the joy here is a very human one, a joy that stems principally from a new freedom. That in the "Joie de la Cort" has what could be termed a more global sense, but possibly a less rational one. Mabonograin's "amie" is returned to the land of everyday, the enchantments in the garden are ended. Eroticism is transcended, but above all there is universal

joy and a prelude to the integration of Erec as a social being with his coronation.

All through this episode the garden with its customs plays a dominant role. Like Avalon it is an otherworld where life is always sweet and happy. Elements of its enclosing wall of air and its planting have already been mentioned. What remains to be noted is its similarity in a certain aspect to the garden of the Roman de la Rose. Erec, just like the Dreamer, is captivated by the adventure: for the former there is no turning back once he has heard its name, despite the dangers involved; for the latter the garden must be entered once he has heard the birdsong, despite the formidable aspect of the walls. Both Erec and the Dreamer, once within the garden, virtually lose their powers of free will and are almost forced into a certain course of action. The great difference is that the Dreamer is led into a position where the passions dominate, whereas Erec by his prowess destroys an enchantment dependent on passion. The Dreamer loses himself, Erec reveals himself in a new dimension: by blowing the horn he becomes if not the chosen heir to a kingdom, at least the semi-mystical victor to an adventure. Nonetheless in all its details the "Joie de la Cort" story is mystifying: so many motifs are shadowed yet contradicted. In the garden with its fruit that cannot be taken away there is a parallel to the motif of eating fruit from the otherworld. Yet Erec picks no fruit and is offered none. Above all the enclosed domain of the garden, the Bower of Love and Bliss, appears to be destroyed as such at the end of the poem.

The garden in Cligès, a further example of the Bower of Bliss, is anticipated by the lovers' life in the marvellous tower with its hidden passages and water conduits. It represents metaphorically the ascendancy of woman and total sequestration. Fenice however, once recovered from her wounds, becomes irked by such seclusion. Nature calls to her when Spring comes and she hears the song of the nightingale, symbol of love.¹⁴⁸ She longs for the sight of the moon and the sun¹⁴⁹ and, once again the leader, persuades Cligès to give her a garden where she can go to "deduire" and "esbanoier",¹⁵⁰ words that both have

sensual connotations.

The garden itself is the first step back to the outside world. The developed Garden of Love is summed up by the pear tree bower and the falling fruit epitomises ripe sensuality. There is no blame cast upon the adultery, for Fenice, unlike Iseut, did not share her favours with two men. Yet possibly her deception is considered a fault: at the conclusion of the poem, Chrétien writes that Fenice lives in freedom unlike later women who have to stay in "prison"¹⁵¹ or harems with eunuchs to guard them so that they will not deceive.

Arnaut de Carcasses in a light-hearted poem similarly does not condemn adultery.¹⁵² The setting for the lovers' meeting is an enclosed castle garden like that in Cligès. Arnaut, as is frequent in medieval poetry, uses the motif, perhaps of Eastern origin, of a bird as mediator between the lovers. Arnaut chooses a garrulous parrot as the counterpart of Ami. That bird is a "bel parliers",¹⁵³ who flatters and cajoles the lady into accepting a tryst. The parrot, a true courtier, tells her that she should love her husband yet have mercy on one who dies of love-sickness. But because the "verdier" is "trop clos" and too well guarded¹⁵⁴ the parrot has to engineer a meeting, rather as Galehaut did for Lancelot. The bird creates a diversion, setting alight the castle with Greek fire and then tells the lover, Antiphonor, that he can take his delight, "e jazar ab el en un lieg".¹⁵⁵ On a bed beneath a laurel the lovers make their "gaug" in this their "paradis".¹⁵⁶

Chaucer, in the Merchant's Tale, uses the full sensual symbolism of the pear tree in the enclosed bower-like garden. The garden is described with its wicket, locked by Januarie's silver key, and its "bench of turves, fresh and grene".¹⁵⁷ It is a totally sensuous metaphor: May is the Spring garden, while Januarie is old Winter's cold. But old Winter cannot quell the budding Spring and May takes her delight with Damien in the pear tree after climbing there upon the back of Januarie just as Spring climbs on the back of old Winter.

All in all mention of such Bowers of Bliss is disturbing. In the middle ages as today all-exclusive love although it exerted a fascination, was

considered with apprehension. All too often the woman was seen to use her wiles to the detriment of the hero's manhood, to isolate him from the social life of prowess. Even if the woman was not overtly blamed, the rise of passion was often indirectly condemned. This is illustrated by the prison-like atmosphere of certain gardens.

* * *

The "hortus conclusus" is walled against the outside world; it is intended to be a place of safety. Yet it is a phenomenon even in the field of language that that which is set up to protect can perform the opposite function. Thus from "tutare" comes the word "tuer" and from "dominarium" "danger" develops.

The poem that most realistically illustrates the Garden of Love as a prison-like place of trial, danger and change is the Roman de la Rose. From an idyllic courtly setting the garden becomes a place of menace with the Lover as the hunted one. The wounds that the God of Love inflicts are physical as well as mental and as real as any described in medieval warfare. The Lover can be healed by no herb¹⁵⁸ just as Guynant in Galeran who, had he been left at the mercy of the hero could not have been saved by "jus / N'erbe, n'emplastre, ne poisons".¹⁵⁹ The motif of the hunt by the God of Love is a commonplace. Chaucer uses it in parallel to the theme of the Man of Sorrows separated from his love by death, and it appears that he is indebted to Guillaume de Lorris. In the Roman de la Rose the garden becomes hostile once the Dreamer sights the rose and is captured in the narcissistic Fountain of Love. From a free reveller he becomes the hunted one: as soon as an ideal love is tinged with passion man loses harmony with himself. When the Rose is locked into the citadel she is neither completely lost nor completely won: neither solution would be acceptable. The end of Guillaume's poem is claustrophobic; the Rose is in physical captivity and the Lover is profoundly committed to his passion for which there can be no solution, only tension.

Lancelot, as the perfect lover of romance, is both the victim of jealous

love and the hero who breaks a love enchantment. The first story revolves around Morgain's jealousy of Guinevere and the three successive imprisonments of Lancelot. Initially Lancelot is in a garden where he goes to "esbatre et esbanoier", words used with some irony, for he is closely guarded by ten armed men. From a leafy tree two knights of Arthur's court see him there, alive, but a captive in a false Garden of Love. Morgain drugs Lancelot and causes him disturbing dreams: he sees the Queen lying with a knight in a pavilion within a flowery mead, but Guinevere will not let Lancelot kill his rival for she says that she and the knight belong to each other. Morgain makes Lancelot believe the dream is reality by contriving to have him awaken in the meadow. Lancelot's senses deceive him: thinking he is excluded from the love pavilion and has lost the Queen's affection he becomes mad and runs wild clad only in "ses braies et sa chemise".¹⁶⁰

The motifs are Lancelot's captivity and his inability to be rescued by outsiders, a theme that contrasts to his own rescue of Mordred in a garden where he defeated sixteen knights.¹⁶¹ Then there is Morgain's pyrrhic victory: she unwittingly echoes in the dream Lancelot's first meeting with Guinevere, also in a flowery mead, with connotations of a Bower of Bliss.¹⁶² By her jealousy she causes Lancelot's madness and so loses him.

Lancelot's second captivity happens when he has gone to sleep under an apple tree in the forest, having taken off his helmet because of the great heat. Captured by the enchantments of Morgain he awakes a prisoner in her castle. Morgain, however does not recognize him because he has lost his hair, a result of drinking envenomed water. He is rescued by one of the fée's damsels and escapes through the "vergiere".¹⁶³ The themes here are: the forest of danger with its apple of forgetfulness, a symbol of Lancelot's sleep and lack of protection; a fée who does not recognise her human lover, and an escape to safety through the garden.

Lancelot's third captivity unites the motif of Morgain's jealous passion with that of the Garden of Love. He has been in her prison two Winters and a

Summer occupying his time by painting on the walls scenes of his love with the Queen. Now Spring comes once more. It is Sunday, Lancelot hears the birdsong, looks out on the rose garden planted by Morgain for his enjoyment where the freshness and colour of the flowers remind him of his love. There is one, a hundred times more beautiful than all the others and Lancelot resolves to have that flower if he cannot have his lady. He cannot reach the rose, but in his determination, the phrase "faire sa volonté" is used, he forces the iron bars of the window and so escapes.¹⁶⁴ As opposed to the Roman de la Rose, the garden imagery although important in these episodes, is never fully integrated on a psychological level. There does exist the theme, much in vogue during the middle ages, of the ensnaring woman, but this does not reach a full equation with the forest of menace or the apple of forgetfulness. Also present as an adjunct to this is the idea that jealous love is an impure love and that those who try to love by force lose, for "Stone walls do not a prison make, / Nor iron bars a cage." In this trilogy of captivity for love the subject is not treated with the finesse of a master of psychology. The elements are there, but they are not brought together. We have the evil fée-woman, the perfect lover, suffering for love's sake: the landscape echo to this is the forest, the painted prison and finally the "garden of the rose", at first out of reach, then entered. It is only when Lancelot breaks the bars to his prison, reaches the desired rose and hold and kisses it that some semblance of fusion is reached between nature and psychology. However the reader is still left with the impression that the rose is above all an "ersatz". Lancelot escaped less to return to Guinevere than to pick the emblem that reminded him of his love. Whereas Lancelot escaped because of his "volonté" the Dreamer of the Roman de la Rose longed to enter the garden for delight.

Another example of a garden-room as a prison involves the motif of the enchanted "carole" or dance and song. All those who succumb to it forget everything, just as the lotus-eaters or those who partake of the apple of forgetfulness. The garden of the "Carole of Love" is set within the "Forest

Perdue". It is a forest of fear, a land like Gorre, for all who enter it are lost. The setting, within the forest, is a meadow, a "trop bele prairie" before a tower, a "realia" of courtly habitations. However here reality ceases and faery takes over. Four mighty pines form a circle, "a la reonde" and about them are thirty rich pavilions.¹⁶⁵ The numbers three (thirty) and four are both magic numbers from antiquity, equated later with the scriptures.¹⁶⁶ Already the very mention of the mythical numbers is indication of something semi-magical to come, and when they are joined to a circle expectations are raised. Then comes the "carole", the invitation to enter another world. Lancelot enters it not as a conscious choice but merely as did Agrevedain accepting the allurements before him. As in the previous example of Lancelot's captivities, no great prowess is involved, except for the hero's renown as the most peerless of lovers. He enters the enchanted circle of the dance, becomes a captive of the spell and loses his memory, even the remembrance of Guinevere and all thought of chivalry: "Et si tost comme il ot passe le premier dez paueillions si li est mues li corage. quar il nauoit deuant nul talent fors de faire cheualrie dassaut ou de melee commencer. ore set sis talens a chou menez na talent fors de caroler. Si en oublie sa dame et siz compaignons & soi meismes quil ne lui souuient de nullui."¹⁶⁷ Lancelot begins to dance with a maiden once he has entered the magic circle, and the brief phrase that describes this illuminates the method of dancing during the thirteenth century.¹⁶⁸ he begins to sing and to "ferir lui pie encontre l'autre".¹⁶⁹

In this episode, the poet brings forward something like the subconscious. We have been told that Lancelot has lost his memory, yet the refrain that he sings deals only with Guinevere: "voirement avons nous la plus bele / royne dez altres."¹⁷⁰ When his squire twice calls him back to the outside life, the life of chivalry, Lancelot, enthralled by the "caroles" merely answers: "boin (est) maintenir amors".¹⁷¹

The fact that Lancelot "subconsciously"¹⁷² has a memory of the Queen is the factor that enables him to break the "carole of love". Rather like the

Magic Flute, it had been an enchantment that overreached the powers of the enchanter. The Garden of Love had been set up by Lancelot's uncle, the brother of King Ban in honour of a lovely damsel. But this dance of merriment anticipated the "dance macabre" of which we have testimony only a century or so later. The instigator of the dance could not stop it, even when his lady-love was tired of it: it could only come to a halt when the best and handsomest knight in the world sat on the throne and donned the crown. Then the great lover would be able to checkmate the invincible chess-set and so end the enchantments that, to the dismay of those concerned, had lasted for fifteen years. Lancelot in the episode of the "Carole of Love" is a cast character. Although initially trapped by the enchantment, caught by the spell to the extent that he loses his memory, he does subconsciously sing about the best queen of all. As the most loyal of lovers he can break, unwittingly the love/death enchantment of the "caroles" set up for love. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that Lancelot is not a jealous lover: Morgain's unsuccessful infatuation for him arose through jealousy; the "caroles" were set up to captivate a lady-love, but Lancelot never tries to hold Guinevere against her own interests and, in fact, returns her to her king in splendour when her reputation is at stake.¹⁷³

In Floire et Blancheflor is the well-known description of the Emir's garden. Enclosed by crenellated walls of the typical Arab colours of blue and gold, it is also surrounded by the Euphrates, a river whose paradisiacal origin is attested by its precious stones. In the garden were not only real birds but automate birds that can control wild beasts. The scent and birdsong make one believe one is in Paradise, yet it is both a Garden of Love and Death. Azure, the colour of the walls can represent fidelity yet the Emir changes wives annually and beheads or blinds his old wife so that none other will possess her. Naturally it is a place that the girls dread, for to be chosen queen is a very doubtful honour. The birds that can calm wild beasts cannot control the Emir's unbridled passions.

Within the garden is a marvellous fountain with a conduit of silver and crystal or of silver-like crystal.¹⁷⁴ The bed is of emeralds and sand. Although not called a Fountain of Love, it distinguishes a virgin from a "fame eue".¹⁷⁵ Precious stones or metals appear to be a feature of a Fountain of Love or a paradisiacal river. In the C. O. F. P. Gauvain comes to a Fountain of Love with a bed of gold.¹⁷⁶ Many lists of stones in literature were based not only on contemporary craftsmanship with its widespread use of gem-encrusted objects but also on book learning,¹⁷⁷ especially Apocalypse XXI : 19-20 and Exodus : 28. Authors enjoy amazing the reader with properties of stones, especially the favoured carbuncle or ruby, but as well as this, lists of stones add sumptuousness to descriptions.

Shading the Magic Fountain is the Tree of Love, so called: "Pour ce que toz tens i a flours".¹⁷⁸ It is a symbol of love ever blossoming in this age, of all others, an age of love. Planted by "fisque" or magic, by enchantment it follows the wishes of the Emir and a flower falls on the girl he desires. The sumptuousness of the garden accentuated by lists of precious stones and the enumeration of precious trees and spices does not hide for one moment the fact that the garden spells death to any "fame eue", particularly the wife of the year passed. The evil custom is only broken when Claris passes the water and the flower test and the Emir promises her his fidelity. Here lust causing danger and evil can only be averted by "amour-amitié".

Jean de Meun of all medieval authors is perhaps one of the most disturbing in his attitude to the garden and to love. The garden is a place where Nero finds death.¹⁷⁹ The Seat of Fortune, a "meson trop perilleuse",¹⁸⁰ is compared to a garden where the flowers wither depending on the buffeting of the wind. It is a symbol of transience, of imperfection and danger. As one plant grows and burgeons another withers, and plants mutate to other species. The two fountains in the garden have opposite properties but both are baneful: one has waters so sweet that he who drinks of it longs for more and more and cannot quench his thirst; the other has dark, sulphurous waters that seem to attract men to their

deaths and this river flows into and infects the sweet waters with its stench.¹⁸¹ Fortune can destroy or can favour, but when she favours she gains mastery over people so that, instead of being satisfied, they yearn for more and more. Jean also uses garden imagery for shorter metaphors: to illustrate that women despite their beauty are venal and love money, he compares them to a dunghill covered with flowers.¹⁸² He also develops the famous lines of Virgil¹⁸³ on the serpent hidden in the grass in a typical misogynist fashion to warn man against the wiles of the fair sex:

anzanz qui cueillez les floretes
 et les freses fresches et netes,
 ci gist li froiz sarpanz en l'erbe;¹⁸⁴
 fuiez, anfant (...)

Even the description of the Garden of the Lamb and the idyllic scene of Venus and Adonis resting under a poplar by water where dogs drink and birdsong fills the air¹⁸⁵ cannot reintegrate nature to the poem's many themes.

With Jean de Meun the garden imagery is generally an afterthought used with irony. The reader is totally distanced from the allegory of the Rose. She is mentioned when Ami says that if lovers were paid rather than offering themselves, the guardians would not just suffer the roses to wilt.¹⁸⁶ In fact Jean de Meun advocates to an extreme a "carpe diem" attitude: the fruit of love or the flower must be picked in due season¹⁸⁷ for a rose can wither.¹⁸⁸ The garden exists by a mention, for instance according to Faux Semblant, as a place where the Lovers could have met had the Vieille not been won over.¹⁸⁹ Conventions are kept to some extent, a chaplet given the Lover confers on him the right to be called "ami".¹⁹⁰ The Rose enclosed is alluded to by Honte¹⁹¹ but only to the extent in which "graine" falling on "graine" refers to the physical act.¹⁹² Honte does say that if picked the Rose will wilt but it must be remembered into whose mouth this speech is put.

In Jean de Meun Reason plays an ambivalent role. At one stage she says love is a "maladie"¹⁹³ and that all the Lover wants is "charnex deliz", to possess the Rose,¹⁹⁴ a clear indictment of love. However later she seems to give an apology of Nature's views and a criticism of the Lover for his modesty.

She says that the words for "coilles" and "reliques" could well have been interchanged, implying that there is nothing to a name, but berates the Lover for considering that a mere term could be called "lez moz et vilains".¹⁹⁵

The conclusion of the book when Jean de Meun sails rather close to the wind and adopts the convention suggested by Reason gives some shock. On one hand the Rose now becomes a mere object of the Lover's whim, and on the other hand the equation of organs of reproduction to reliqueries involves such a total disregard for the sanctity of any object that it is easy to understand the mixed reaction to Jean's poetry over the centuries. No convention, no belief is sacred to him. Women are his special target. Chaplets given are fitting only as bribes¹⁹⁶ or to be worn by women to deceive men.¹⁹⁷ Both the outward symbols of Guillaume's poem and its spirit are trodden to the ground. There remains no possible place for the Rose enclosed in the Garden of Delight.

* * *

The Garden of Love presents for the thirteenth century the equivalent of the "Carte du Tendre". It is an extended metaphor, and a visual one, of the paths and patterns of Love: it is an ideal and as all ideals subject to an exclusive/inclusive code. There were those both within and without the Pale. Those within the Kingdom followed set rules but by an action could destroy the very Paradise that they had so carefully constructed with their beloved.

CONCLUSION

A philological approach to garden imagery in thirteenth century French literature is valuable in that it gives an appreciation of the part that gardens played in medieval life and leads to a wide understanding of the concepts and imagery of the period. At first view a reading of the relevant texts made the garden appear as a place of desire and delight but on closer analysis the garden revealed itself to be also a place of surprise, hazard and even evil. The "topos" of the "Place of Delight", the "hortus conclusus" was modified by the reality of thirteenth century life.

Chapters do not deal with particular "genres", rather with different approaches to the garden. This, however, does not mean that the specific types of literature do not correspond to various views of the garden. Epic poetry treats in a linear and highly stylized way the Castle Garden, however symbolism can be discovered there. In Epic poetry the garden is a backdrop not described "per se" but merely to illuminate certain stylized heroic poses. However Epic poetry is objective and as such is worthy of study for the factual, although at times exaggerated, information it provides on garden size and layout. Details of planting however appear realistic. The Arthurian Romances mention the garden only as a side piece and therefore although the descriptions are brief they seem to represent what was in fact the reality of the period. The Romans Courtois develop the garden in its most minute details, for it must be remembered that the garden was a "topos" practised by scholars and students alike. However different authors develop gardens to mirror various reactions of the characters on their ideas towards society. Romans Courtois therefore reflect the "realia" of thirteenth century horticulture at times embellished by Eastern imagery. This meeting of East and West during the time of the Crusades and later lead to an obvious interchange of ideas and art forms. Eastern influence in Western garden design cannot therefore be rejected out of hand as mere poetic embellishment. Fabliaux wittily parody

descriptions of the garden in the Romans Courtois. This is to be expected but the very mundanity of the Fabliaux adds support to the image that begins to form as to what a medieval garden was actually like. In Fabliaux gardens were used as a satire of human foibles, but a satire is often nothing but a caricature of reality, an over-emphasis of certain well-known motifs. The facetious is never far from the core of the poetry. In Occitan poetry, merely dealt with as an aside in this thesis, the garden seems to be used in a more formalistic sense: entry into the garden is more important than the garden itself. This possibility could be linked to the much discussed study of the influence of Hispano-Arabic poetry on the literature of the Langue d'Oc.

Because of the social implications of virtually every instance of garden description in medieval French literature the divisions made here correspond to clear distinctions between different social functions of the image of the garden and to the different "functions" of these descriptions within the works studied. The chapters dealing with the Hermitage, the Monastery and the Castle are based on the "realia" of gardens, on their historical importance, on the role they fulfilled in medieval society and on their symbolic value. The Hermitage and Monastery Gardens, with the exception of the Moniage Guillaume appear to be described objectively and are mere "asides" in Arthurian Romance. The Castle Garden, on the other hand, is mentioned or described in almost every text but its poetic value can vary from a mere mention to a fully developed insight onto the characters concerned. The Garden of Love is a law unto itself, a "topos" used at times as a set piece, at times with great individual vigour by different authors

The Hermit's Garden dealt with in chapter one, the plainest of the gardens studied, was at times sparsely planted and merely of chequer-board design, yet its symbolic aspects are more significant than its artistic merits. The symbolic aspects of a particular type of garden may be greater than poetic impact, and those gardens richest in symbolic elements are not always the most complicated. The study of the Hermitage is highly important for an appreciation of the role of the hermit in medieval life. The Hermitage existed in the "middle distance",

standing between human society and the wilderness and linking them. It functioned either as a refuge for a man fleeing the evils of society or as a stage in his recovery from insanity. The Hermitage is an enclave within a hostile world and, as is shown in the first chapter, becomes a place of rejuvenation where man can be reconciled with his Creator as well as with human society. It becomes a place of transcending man's fallen nature through penance and so achieving Paradise: in this it resembles Purgatory.

In the second chapter on the Monastery Garden, material has been brought together that requires further analysis. Gardens have been presented both through their role in medieval society as infirmary, sanctuary and shrine and through their use as a centre of repose reflecting the medieval equivalent of the Roman "otiositas". The sequence of death-life-rebirth and the presentation of spiritual concepts in earthly and sensuous terms are among the elements found in descriptions of these gardens. They are not, however, peculiar to Christian cultures. The latter theme, common in accounts of the Mary Garden, is particularly characteristic of the thirteenth century in its expression of the abstract by the concrete and explains the ambivalent nature of the Garden of Love.

In the third chapter the social function of the Castle Garden, selecting for detailed study the most distinctive and informative contemporary accounts from the thirteenth century, has been assessed. The existence of an element of threat in literary gardens reflects the social instability of the period. The presentation of the Garden of Love and Bower of Bliss in the fourth and fifth chapters examines the use of the garden or any element forming part of the garden as a symbol of the Beloved. It also explores the idealization of the Beloved as an example of nature made more perfect by man. Because the Lady was so esteemed, the Garden of Love was debarred to the "villain" or to the unworthy and was a Paradise reserved only for the elect. Thus entry into the garden was an entry to Love. Since the garden was considered as a state of perfection, entry into this state involved on one level the crossing of a cosmic barrier, an entry into another realm. Such an entry prepared the way for an ideal condition of mind and body. Love, therefore,

was considered as an ideal that reality or an action could destroy. The garden was seen as a chamber or Bower of Bliss, the scene for all the steps of Love. However even the garden was often more a place of deceptive pleasure, even of fear, than one of peace.

The thirteenth century with its Garden of Delight was treated as a Paradise by nineteenth century authors and poets. Paul Verlaine wrote:

C'est vers le moyen âge, énorme et délicat,
qu'il faudrait que mon coeur en panne naviguât,
loin de nos jours d'esprit charnel et de chair triste.¹

Modern historians and scholars are more objective and interpret the thirteenth century idea of a garden rather as a "paradis perdu". Literature of the period portrays different styles of garden ranging from the simple vegetable plots of the hermits to the vast pleasure parks of the castle that are the true descendants of the Roman garden with its portico and "willed wildness" and of the oriental garden with its crossed pathway and central cistern. The garden of the Hermitage is common to many cultures and can be traced back to those mentioned in accounts of the Desert Fathers. The Castle Garden, however, as described in the Roman de la Rose, Floire et Blancheflor, Huon de Bordeaux and other texts shows an interplay of historical detail from the "locus amoenus", the Song of Songs and Classical tradition which in turn influenced the "realia" of garden design as shown in Hesdin, in Pietro de'Crescenzi and Albertus Magnus.

The examination of the symbolic function of medieval gardens is more complex than the analysis of their social implications. The Hermitage, whilst being described objectively has obvious transcendent implications especially in the final section of the Moniage Guillaume. The Monastery Garden in the examples studied receives a more factual treatment which implies a more concrete social relevance. Gardens as those of the Hermitage and Monastery reflect man's yearning towards God but also his physical and metaphysical anxieties; the "fall" is not necessarily in the past but can take the form of future damnation; in the Cemetery Garden, as seen, life fights its eternal battle with death. The Castle Garden is treated ambivalently: sometimes as a mere extension of the castle

proper, sometimes as a place, as in the case of the joust-yard, of an arena for social "justice". The ambivalent treatment of the Castle Garden appears to be explained by the fact that it was principally a forum of everyday life, not only with its tensions, but on a more pleasant level as a place of ease where people talk, play chess, stroll, feast by night or by day or merely contemplate nature and relax. The Love Garden on the other hand is a "topos". By this I mean that it belongs to a rhetorical tradition which includes the Song of Songs and the works of Ovid. It is not however a slavish reworking but an example of the medieval poetic convention of "renovatio"; the selective incorporation of borrowed "topoi" into a coherent and independent literary work.

The Garden of Love is the most allegorically and ambivalently described of those mentioned in this thesis. Much space has been devoted to it because love in many times and cultures has been considered the elixir of youth and has represented much beyond the mere physical act. In the middle ages this was also the case but medieval authors were too realistic to over-beautify their fancy. Thus the Bower of Bliss despite all its idealized connotations was often described in fact as a place of destruction where the spirit was lost or became sterile. Even the apparent beauty and lushness of the "hortus conclusus" of Guillaume de Lorris generally has undertones of fleshly love or barren sensuality as in the development by Jean de Meun. In the rare occasions where love is idealized, and generally this is only the case for nascent love as in the case of Biaurepaire, the garden represents an unachieved quest, a Paradise beyond the grasp of mortal hand. Whatever the case garden imagery or the garden as a metaphor, simile or allegory, is generally used positively and with artistry. Through literature one sees the individual as he is, seeking forever a form of rejuvenation but more often led ineluctably towards death of mind or body.

The aim of this present thesis, has been to present the basis for a philological study of thirteenth century garden imagery in French literature. In order to concentrate on major texts I have not been able to consider minor French texts or examine medieval Occitan poetry in any detail. A worthwhile further area

of research would be to consider the differences between the descriptions of gardens in medieval Occitan texts and those given in the *Langue d'Oïl*. At a superficial glance it would appear that Occitan poetry uses the garden more as a set piece with emphasis placed on the "entry into the garden" opening. Variations on this set theme could however make a rewarding study.

This thesis is not a social history and does not pretend to relate the imagery of the garden to the reality of the every day life of the vast majority of the people of the time. So few were literate that this study must needs present an elitist idea of gardens: even many of the hermits were aristocrats and hermitages and monasteries alike as shown above, enjoyed royal patronage. What these examples do illustrate however was what the "masses" shared in common with those of high birth: a basic acceptance of Christian beliefs and ideals.

Gardens link the Biblical traditions of Genesis and other Classical sources to Celtic and Arabic traditions. They transmit the garden as more than a place "per se" and carry on an ancient and perhaps oral as well as literary tradition rich in symbolic overtones. The overwhelming impression gained from an examination of the literature that mentions gardens is the ambivalent attitude that this rarified nature represents. It was a place of repose, of courtship, of the "dance of love", a place of union with the Creator but also the arena that reflected the turmoil and strife of a period when, even by modern standards, day to day life was uncertain.

NOTESINTRODUCTION

- ¹ Paul Zumthor, Parler du Moyen Age, p. 30.
- ² See Paul Zumthor, ibid., pp. 23 and 64.
- ³ Ed. Coffin, The Italian Garden, "Villa gardens of the Veneto", p. 23.
- ⁴ Pierre Grimal, Jardins romains, p. 437.

* * *

NOTES

CHAPTER 1 THE HERMIT'S GARDEN

¹ See O. E. D. "garden". Also W. W. Skeat, Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, pp. 234 and 414.

² Helan Waddell, The Desert Fathers. See especially pp. 110, 143, 190 for anecdotes that will illustrate this point.

³ The whole of Horace's second Epode bears testimony to this and our entire pastoral poetry, no matter how stilted, echoes the same longing.

⁴ Marbode possessed this wisdom of the open country. In the twelfth century, wearied of town he took solace on his uncle's farm where he wrote: "Green grass and quiet trees a little soft wind and gay, a spring well in the grass, these things give me back to myself, they make me abide in myself. Town takes a man out of the truth of himself (...) and he dreams under the trees and watches the eager present slip back into the still grave of the past." (Waddell, Wandering Scholars, p. 99) Marbode was also a lover of the fresh beauties of Spring: "Nidus nonnullis stat in arbore, non sine pullis". (Migne P. L., vol. 171, col. 1717)

⁵ O. E. D.

⁶ Compare with Macbeth and the witches on the blasted heath.

⁷ Marc Bloch, Les Caractères originaux de l'Histoire Rurale Française, p. 15.

⁸ "Bigre" is a variant of "bougre", words based on the L., "Bulgarus", "Bulgarian". The name was given to a sect of heretics who came from Bulgaria in the ninth century and afterwards to other "heretics" including the Albigenses to whom abominable practices were ascribed. It was also used of usurers and others considered as social outcasts.

⁹ Marc Bloch, Les Caractères originaux de l'Histoire Rurale Française, p. 14.

¹⁰ Marc Bloch, Les Caractères originaux de l'Histoire Rurale Française, p. 15 writes: "Dans cette opacité, comme disent les vieux textes, les bêtes sauvages trouvaient leurs repaires. Les chroniques monastiques nous ont conservés le souvenir des ours formidables qui hantaient les abords de l'abbaye de Saint-Gall, sur les premières pentes des Alpes alémaniques. L'hiver, les loups sortaient de leurs cachettes et poussaient jusqu'aux portes des villages, dangereux aux troupeaux et aux hommes mêmes. L'hostilité du monde animal, dont l'Europe ne connaît aujourd'hui le frisson que par les contes dépositaires de traditions périmées était pour nos pères une réalité toujours présente."

Bloch's testimony is born out by the Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris. An entry for 1420 tells the horrific tale of a pregnant woman who was tied to a tree that served as gallows and later found torn to pieces by wolves. In 1423 the author wrote: "venoient à Paris les loups toutes les nuyts".

Seonid Robertson, in Rose Garden and Labyrinth, p. 42, noted that the

suggestion "a tree" encouraged her art pupils to draw naturally, relying on visual memories, whereas the key word "forest" gave rise to pictures that were mysterious and overlaid with a note of fear. Such pictures seem to reproduce something archaic kept alive, perhaps, through fairy tales and they are the antithesis of a garden.

- 11 Sommer, vol. 2, pp. 360-62.
- 12 Sommer, vol. 3, pp. 165-166.
- 13 The sanctity and security of the hermitage environment although widely revered can be abused by the knight or the devil. In the Queste Lionel slaughters a hermit and Calogrenant who had tried to prevent his attack on Bohort his brother. (Sommer, vol. 6, p. 135) The sanctuary of the hermitage is violated. In the same book the devil assumes the appearance of a hermit in order to tempt Bohort to despair. (p. 127) Evil disguises itself as good. Compare with the wolf in sheep's clothing of Matthew 7 : 15.
- 14 Continuation, v. 15004.
- 15 While Perceval sleeps with his head on her lap Dyonise falsely accuses and betrays him to the first knight who chances by. She begs the knight to slay Perceval while he sleeps, an action that would have been an offence against the rules of chivalry.
- 16 Continuation, vv. 14125 and 14115.
- 17 Ibid., vv. 14121-26
- 18 Ibid., v. 14177. In this passage "erbe" clearly means "grass", whereas at other times "herbs" are implied.
- 19 In the Inferno it is said of Paradise "In fama non si vien, nè sotto coltre." Canto 24, v. 48.
- 20 Continuation, vv. 14344-46.
- 21 Quoted in Nora K. Chadwick, The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church, p. 48, Vitae Patrum, XIV, cap. 3 and cap. 1.
- 22 Sommer, vol. 2, p. 250.
- 23 Sommer, vol. 7, pp. 172 and 236 where Agloval is treated at hermitages, also Sommer, vol. 3, pp. 174 and 186, La Mort Artus, ed. Bruce, p. 68.
- 24 Sommer, vol. 1, p. 67. See also p. 287 for further association of health and sanctity. Sommer, vol. 4, pp. 76-81 where Arthur's malady is related to his sin against Guinevere.
- 25 Sommer, vol. 4, pp. 146, 148, 358, etc.
- 26 Harold Bayley, The Lost Language of Symbolism, p. 88.
- 27 John 5 : 8.
- 28 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., v. 6440.
- 29 Ibid., mss. T.V.D., vv. 6840-41.
- 30 Ibid., ms. E, v. 10426.

31 Two well known examples are the Roman de la Rose, vv. 516-521, where the lover repeatedly knocks on the garden door, and the Continuation, v. 152 ff. where Perceval breaks his sword on the door of Paradise.

32 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 6858-59. Compare this with the stories that surround St. Francis of Assisi, for example Giotto's St. Francis and the Birds. Power over animals or natural forces is frequently a sign of holiness or supernatural strength. In Amadas et Ydoine, Ydoine summons three sorceresses to prevent her marriage to the Count of Nevers. Their powers are many, flying, control over water, ability to cause floods, to raise the dead and in addition control over the growth of plants. They can "Defors de la graine venir / Arbres, naistre, croistre et florir". (vv. 2027-28) In Huon de Bordeaux Auberon has power over animals:

Il n'est oisiax ne beste ne sangier,
Tant soit hautains ne de grant cruauté,
Se jou veul de ma main acener,
C'a moi ne viene volentiers et de gré. (vv. 3575-78)

He is also privy to the secrets and joys of Paradise and has his place reserved there; he can cause a storm (vv. 3291-95) and by means of his horn he can force his listeners to sing and dance. (vv. 3282-83) In the Roman de la Rose the God of Love also has control over animals.

33 C. O. F. P. mss. T.V.D., vv. 6915-28.

34 Ibid., mss. T.V.D. v. 6914.

35 Ibid., mss. T.V.D., v. 6952.

36 Ibid., mss. T.V.D., vv. 7677-79.

37 Hermitages were however sometimes endowed by the aristocracy. See Sommer vol. 2, p. 250; vol. 3, p. 310; vol. 7, p. 215; vol. 5, p. 144.

38 C. O. F. P. mss. T.V.D., vv. 7352-55.

39 For instance, Numbers 32 : 6-10, where the Valley of Eschol is called "the land that Jaheveh had given (the sons of Israel)."

40 In the C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, v. 20701, dogs we are told, are "Plus blanc que n'est fleur d'espine". Later in the same poem a hauberk is described thus: "Plus blanc que nul fleur n'estoit / D'aube espine ne d'eglantier". (ms. E, vv. 24858-59)

41 Because it flowers early in the season, the hawthorn symbolizes Spring. Compare the Roman de Renart, 1^e branche:

Ce dist l'estoire es premiers vers
que ja estoit passez yvers
et l'aube espine florissoit
et la rose espannissoit
et pres fu de l'Acension. (vv. 11-15)

Note here that the hawthorn has pride of place over the rose. Compare also Jaufre Rudel's Lors que li jor where the poet delights in the hawthorn flower which is contrasted to the ice of winter.

42 Marc Bloch, Les Caractères originaux de l'Histoire Rurale Française, p. 8. This figure is based on an estimate of five persons per "fire", that is per unit censured. In La Vie Paysanne au Moyen Age, p. 15, a "fire" is calculated as from four to five persons. Bloch accepts Lot's figure as a minimum but suggests that future research may cause it to be increased.

43 New towns were created, generally by two nobles in conjunction, one lay and the other ecclesiastic, with the prime object of increasing the value of their lands. The towns, called "sauvetés" or "bastides" were erected within four crosses set up at the four cardinal points that marked the boundaries. This area was the "banlieu" over which the lord or municipality had jurisdiction, the "droit de ban". The plan of the future town with its church, townhall, market and public square was traced within an outer wall. Where practicable, the streets intersected each other at right-angles, like many of our urban developments.

Another form such a new town took was the aptly named "village-rue" where the houses stretch on either side of a central street. An aerial photo of such a town clearly shows the mark of medieval forest clearance. The fields, long, narrow strips at right angles to the road, stretch back behind each house and show the method whereby new dwellers slowly reclaimed the land from the forest. Only then could they live in comparative safety, and in fact many new inhabitants had to be encouraged to settle by being freed from serfdom.

44 Chadwick, p. 80.

45 Ibid., p. 48.

46 Queste, pp. 246-47.

• 47 Isiah 35 : 1-2.

48 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., v. 6952.

49 Ibid., mss. T.V.D., v. 7334 and v. 7340.

50 See above note 39 p. 13. Also Joel 4 : 2 where the gathering place of nations and the site of their trial was the fertile valley of Johoshaphat.

51 For instance Blaise lives in the forest of Northumberland. (Sommer, vol. 2, pp. 121 and 300) The expression "l'ermite de la forest" is almost a "phrase figée", (Sommer, vol. 3, pp. 171 and 216) as is also the description of hermitages in a forest "espesse & parfonde & ancienne". (Sommer, vol. 7, p. 246 cf. p. 204)

52 La Vie Paysanne au Moyen Age, Dossier i, p. 7.

53 Moniage Guillaume, vv. 2131-33. In Sommer, vol. 2, p. 250 a hermitage is similarly described as being surrounded by a thorn hedge and ditches.

54 See "boisilleurs" above note 7 p. 3. Even when not infested by brigands the forest was a place where fortuitous accidents happened as in La Mort Artus (ed. Bruce, pp. 66-67) where Lancelot just outside the hermitage goes to sleep unarmed by a fountain and is accidentally wounded by a huntsman.

55 Moniage Guillaume, v. 2115 ff.

56 J. Ebersolt, Orient et Occident, p. 12.

57 Marseilles was the central point of cultural exchanges, but all the southern region and the Rhone corridor were enriched by Eastern influence. Medieval Gaul was not a closed community, instead it welcomed outside commerce. From the number of Byzantine coins of the fifth and sixth century found on French soil it appears that they were used as currency in France. (See Ebersolt, Orient et Occident, p. 19)

58 Migne P. L., vol. 71, col. 576.

- 59 Sommer, vol. 2, p. 359; vol. 4, pp. 232, 276; vol. 6, pp. 99, 104, 108. (mention of wine), Mort Artu p. 260. Nettles, a source of iron, were regularly eaten in place of spinach in Britain during the second war.
- 60 Continuation, v. 15775.
- 61 Ibid., vv. 15778-80.
- 62 In the middle ages cereals and especially the "ble tendre" that gave the best flour were sometimes cultivated in gardens. (Vie Paysanne, p. 35)
- 63 Continuation, vv. 14148-49.
- 64 Sommer, vol. 6, p. 85.
- 65 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, v. 23838. Notice that the word "guichet" or garden gate is used rather than "uis" which applies to a house door.
- 66 Ibid., ms. E, vv. 23868-71.
- 67 Ibid., ms. E, vv. 24039-41.
- 68 Ibid., ms. E, vv. 23838-40.
- 69 For instance in the C. O. F. P. Gauvain at a hermitage is given hospitality "Et iaue d'une fontenele/ Qui estoit jost une chapele". (vv. 13971-72)
- 70 Sommer, vol. 6, p. 85. See appendix p. 249, "vine".
- 71 Moniage Guillaume, vv. 2193-98. Compare with C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., where a hermit offers Gauvain "Burre et sydre sanz demoree / Et pain de dravie molt noir". (vv. 9866-67) It is the sort of fare expected at a hermitage. The bread from cockle or darnel must have been rough, although ms. E, gives the more usual alternative of "pain d'orge". The mention of butter and cider suggesting an apple orchard and an enclosure for cattle strikes a slightly less austere note. See also Sommer, vol. 6, p. 99 for further mention of cider in connection with the hermitage.
- 72 Ibid., v. 2251. It is interesting to remember that the extent of a forest used to be measured by the number of pigs it could nourish, for instance in the Capitulare (de Villis).
- 73 Moniage Guillaume, vv. 5008-15.
- 74 Compare the "caverns measureless to man" of Coleridges' Kubla Kahn. See also Robertson Rose Garden and Labyrinth, p. 56.
- 75 See Ami et Amile. Ami takes refuge in a cave outside Lucca in his madness, and there he is cured. See also C. O. F. P. above p. 7 where Carados finds health and social acceptance in a hermitage.
- In the Livre de Lancelot del Lac the hero loses his mind and haunts lonely places after he unwittingly sleeps with Pelles' daughter. Bliant and his brother think to cure Lancelot by taking him to a cave-like place, a "recoi loing de gent ou il ne veist nulle lumiere". (Sommer, vol. 5, p. 395) In this place of darkness and isolation there are implications of rebirth and rejuvenation: Lancelot regains his former beauty but not his mind. Furthermore in a hermitage Lancelot is healed of a boar's wound (Sommer, vol. 5, p. 398 ff.) but he only achieves total sanity in the cave-like isolation of the Grail Castle with its associations of sanctity.

76 R. R. Bezzola, "Guillaume IX et les origines de l'amour courtois", Rom. LXVI, 1940, pp. 145-237.

77 Gaston Paris, review of "Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge" by Alfred Jeanroy, Journal des Savants 1892, p. 425.

78 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., v. 9860.

79 Compare the pathway to the right in the Roman de la Rose, vv. 712-14 with C. O. F. P. ms. E, v. 3047. For other examples of the association of the hermitage with the right see Sommer, vol. 3, p. 32 and vol. 6, p. 101 etc.

80 The only mention of reward in connection with a hermitage appears to be the Carados episode in the C. O. F. P. See above p. 7. A further example of the hospitality of hermits occurs later in the same book when Perceval, having crossed a glass bridge in search of the Grail Castle, spends a night at a hermitage. Perceval and a friend enter the unlocked garden gate without knocking: "Au guichet sont venuz tout droit, / Anz sont antré sanz arester". (Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 26956-57) The unannounced visitors are made welcome: "Mais molt i furent bien venu". (Second Continuation, ms. E, v. 26959) The examples of the wayfarer receiving free overnight hospitality at the hermitage are innumerable. (See, for example Sommer, vol. 3, p. 142; vol. 4, pp. 4, 8, 103, 110, 174, 296, 328; vol. 6, p. 250; vol. 7, pp. 93, 94, 106, 107, 114, 126, 191, 225, 294, 303) Almost always the knight errant attended Mass and often he received the sacraments. Arthur's knights were particularly well received as is explained in Le Livre d'Artus: "car des icel ior que chevalier errant comencierent a errer estoient molt ame sor toz autres cil de la Table Roonde por ce quil abatoient les mauueses costumes & deliuroient les maus pas a lors pooirs & destreignient les maus faisanz qui roboient les chemins". (Sommer, vol. 7, p. 107) Generally the accommodation is simple, though in Sommer, vol. 4, p. 174 there is mention of "vne moult bele chambre". Occasionally knights find other hostels with foresters (Sommer, vol. 4, pp. 318 and 338) or at convents (Sommer, vol. 4, pp. 287 and 293), but these are exceptions.

81 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 9873-86.

82 Ibid., mss. T.V.D., v. 9889.

83 Ibid., mss. T.V.D., v. 10038.

84 Ibid., mss. T.V.D., vv. 9944-46.

85 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 29232-65.

86 Ibid., ms. E, vv. 23878-79.

87 Ibid., ms. E, vv. 29260-65.

88 Ibid., ms. E, vv. 29420 and 29283-84.

89 Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, p. 26.

90 Ibid., p. 23.

91 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 31432-506.

92 See appendix, p. 225, "apple".

93 Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, p. 27.

94 Refer appendix, p. 254 "yew".

95 "Iwain", Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature vol. VIII, p. 25. Variations of this same theme are found in Guingamor, Graelent, Lanval and Désiré.

96 Le Chevalier au Lion, vv. 2639-884.

97 Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 178.

98 Amadas et Ydoine, v. 3367.

99 Sommer, vol. 1, p. 290. Wasteland and evil are frequently associated. In L'Estoire the misuse of the sacred sword in Solomon's boat transforms the land into "la terre gaste".

100 Eliade Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 200.

101 Methodius, Symposium, p. 144 mentions a plant called "bramble because of its firm and sturdy attitude towards pleasure".

102 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 23552-57.

103 Ibid., ms. E, vv. 23733-34.

104 Ibid., ms. E, vv. 23878-79.

105 Tibullus, Elegy I, trans. Guy Lee.

106 Continuation, v. 8800.

107 Extreme age is often associated with hermits. It appears to be proof both of sanctity and a wholesome life. (See Sommer, vol. 7, p. 246 and compare with the pride of the inhabitants of Georgia in their longevity and healthy diets.)

108 Continuation, vv. 10181-82.

109 Ibid., v. 13970.

110 See appendix p. 235 "oak".

111 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 20900-01.

112 Hesiod, Works and Days, vv. 117-20.

113 Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 76. See also p. 160.

114 Moniage Guillaume, vv. 2111-13.

115 Genesis 2 : 9.

116 Graf, Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo, pp. 20 and 68. See also Roman de la Rose, vv. 899-903.

117 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., v. 6852.

118 Ibid., mss. T.V.D., vv. 6858-61.

119 Moniage Guillaume, v. 2067.

120 Ibid., v. 2084.

121 Ebersolt, Orient et Occident, p. 12.

- 122 Moniage Guillaume, v. 2106.
- 123 Ernest Klein, A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, "Paradise", p. 1124.
- 124 Skeat, Etymological Dictionary, "Paradise", p. 438 and "Dough", p. 180.
- 125 See Genesis 2 : 8 (LXX version); Luke 22 : 43 (Greek). The Oriental word is used by Xenophon, Hell. 4. 1. 5, Cyr. 1. 3. 14 etc. See also A. Bartlett Giamatti, The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic, chap. 1.
- 126 Graf, Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo, p. 21.
- 127 Moniage Guillaume, vv. 2125-27, 2160-63.
- 128 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, v. 23838.
- 129 Moniage Guillaume, vv. 2187-88.
- 130 See for example Micah 4 : 4; Guillaume's sword is now a "pel".
- 131 Moniage Guillaume, vv. 2757-58.
- 132 Compare the effect of "ahaner" in Du Bellay's D'un vanneur de blé au vent.
- 133 This motif is used in the Apocropha.
- 134 Moniage Guillaume, vv. 2759-62.
- 135 See Bloch, Les Caractères originaux de l'Histoire Rurale Française, p. 15.
- 136 The word "ente", often meaning "grafted tree" is frequently used in medieval garden descriptions.
- 137 Moniage Guillaume, vv. 2792-93.
- 138 Galatians 6 : 7.
- 139 I Corinthians 9 : 6.
- 140 Moniage Guillaume, v. 3109. Earlier the garden was called a "cortil" or simple enclosure, now it is designated by the term "herbiers" which suggests a place where a collection of living herbs abound. (O. E. D.)
- 141 Ibid., vv. 5008-15.
- 142 Ibid., v. 5022.
- 143 Ibid., vv. 5025-32 and 5105-09.
- 144 Ibid., v. 5004.
- 145 From the Apocropha.
- 146 Moniage Guillaume, vv. 6545-50.
- 147 Graf, Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo, p. 17 and Methodius, Symposium, p. 39.

The garden mount is a motif that has many origins. The oldest known garden mount is the Hanging Gardens of Babylon. Ancient mountain tribes descending to the alluvial plain of the Euphrates were nostalgic for their ancestral hills and there is a story that the Hanging Gardens were built by Nebuchadnezzar, as a gesture of sympathy, to comfort his Median wife who pined for the hills of her childhood. (Derek Clifford, History of Garden Design, p. 20) It was a rectangular artificial hill, a squared off pyramid, composed of a series of superposed terraces. Mounts also occur in Ancient China and in pre-Columbian America where some of them date from the time before Christ. The idea that God lives in a high place is prominent in one strand of the Old Testament. This belief filtered into Christianity. (For example, Dante's Paradise and L'Estoire, p. 153)

There is no direct continuity between hanging gardens and medieval mounts. The latter seem to have been used as a defence (to strengthen walls and provide a look-out tower), or quite simply as an ornamental platform from which to view the garden perspective. (See Albertus Magnus and Pietro de' Crescenzi, below p. 61) It has also been suggested that in some cases gardens were built around ancient round barrows, burial places of earlier inhabitants of Europe. (Clifford, p. 20)

In medieval literature hills or mounds echo an element of the "realia" of gardens but they also held a psychological significance. When Lancelot prays on a high rock most of the night (Sommer, vol. 6, p. 101) there are overtones of Christ at the Mount of Olives which symbolizes victory over trial and loneliness. When he or Nacien or other hermits or holy people retire there (Sommer, vol. 6, pp. 45, 95, 108) it is as if these holy men were renouncing worldly things.

There are numerous examples of hermitages on high peaks. (Sommer, vol. 2 p. 457; vol. 3, p. 163; Mort Artu, p. 257) The hill or "tertre" to which hermits retire is often described as rocky. Now stone is a symbol of "Earth", (Sommer, vol. 2, p. 82) and more precisely of the core as well as the heights of the Earth on which Paradise rests. Desolate rocks can be a place of temptation (Sommer, vol. 1, p. 934) but generally evil is overcome. It is the opposite to the deep pit of hell. Rabanus Maurus writes: "Altitudo, sublimitas est praemiorum", (Migne P. L., vol. 112, col. 857) "Mons, sublimitas hujus mundi" (vol. 112, col. 1001).

However, as is frequently the case with medieval imagery, the mount could have an opposite significance. Rabanus Maurus glosses "mons" also as follows: "Per montes homines superbi, ut in Job: 'Huic montes herbas ferunt,' quod superbi quique diabolum per elationem pascunt. (...) Per montes spiritus maligni, ut in cantico Habacue: 'Et contriti sunt montes saeculi,' quod per Christum destructi sunt spiritus maligni qui sunt principes munde". (Migne P. L., vol. 112, cols. 1001-02, also col. 857 "altitudo") The "tertre" of Druas was a hill of defiance, symbol of pride and isolation. (Sommer, vol. 5, p. 5) This also seems to be the connotation of the "tertre devee" (Sommer, vol. 5, p. 237) and it is the opposite of the well of humiliation. (For example Sommer, vol. 5, p. 157 where Lancelot is thrown down a verminous well and rescued not by a peer but by a simple damsel.)

148 Robertson, Rose Garden, p. 192.

149 Let the wilderness and dry-lands exult,
Let the wasteland rejoice and bloom,
Let it bring forth flowers like the jonquil,
Let it rejoice and sing for joy. (Isiah 35 : 1-2)

150 Compare for instance the renunciation of the Desert Fathers. See also Migne P. L., vol. 112, col. 908 where Rabanus Maurus glosses the desert as "mens sancta" and "coelum".

151 Methodius, Symposium, p. 116.

¹⁵² Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 94. See also pp. 47, 72, 77, 92, 93, and 94 for discussion of the function of ascent and high places.

¹⁵³ This can be compared with the "bridge of souls" in Persian literature. See Mary Boyce, A History of Zoroastrianism, p. 224 ff.

¹⁵⁴ The hermitage garden although simple was considered as a place of recreation or as an outside dining area. (Sommer, vol. 4, pp. 129, 143-44) In this same book a hermitage garden is described surrounded by a circular stone wall with in the centre a beautiful apple tree and grass. (Sommer, vol. 4, p. 375)

¹⁵⁵ See Sommer, vol. 4, p. 30; vol. 6, pp. 22, 41, 52, 101 etc., for examples of female hermits.

¹⁵⁶ According to tradition John the Baptist was "ausi com hermites". (Sommer, vol. 7, p. 256)

¹⁵⁷ Occasionally hermits seem hardly to be religious men. In the Mort Artu Lancelot at the time of Guinevere's jealousy is counselled resignation by a hermit instead of being taught morality. (Mort Artu, pp. 66-68. Refer also Jean Frappier, Etude sur la Mort le Roi Artu, especially p. 220) As opposed to the Queste where hermits are the interpreters of God, the Mort Artu gives no moral glosses on the action although all the heroes and Guinevere have edifying deaths. The lesson that adultery leads to the destruction of the Round Table is deduced only through action. (See also H. Bloch, Medieval French Literature and the Law) The hermitage is also a place of oath taking (Sommer, vol. 3, pp. 32, 167, 326, etc.) and a rendezvous. (Sommer, vol. 4, p. 330)

¹⁵⁸ Sommer, vol. 3, pp. 154, 395, 398; vol. 4, p. 349; vol. 5, pp. 121, 130, 147, 237; vol. 6, pp. 39, 48, (where admonitions last three days), 52, 85, 96-99, and 167. In Sommer, vol. 2, pp. 121, 206, 256, Merlin achieves his destiny with Blaise his master who not only warns him against Viviane but writes down the Book of Merlin.

¹⁵⁹ This is particularly so in the Queste where hermits insist on religious observation as they conspicuously fail to do in the Mort Artu. (See pp. 10, 66-68) In the Mort Artu, the secular clergy sometimes take over the role of the hermit. (See pp. 135 and 220)

¹⁶⁰ Sommer, vol. 3, p. 140; vol. 4, pp. 298, 300 etc. See Sommer, vol. 4, pp. 76-81 for the role of the hermit in the episode of the false Guinevere.

¹⁶¹ Possibly such edifying conclusions to the otherwise worldly lives of knights were influenced by hagiographic literature. In Gui de Warewic the hero retires in sanctity to a hermitage. In the third section to Chrétien's Perceval a hermit leads the hero back to God after five years of undescribed adventures. Through the role of the hermit the Grail poem is transformed and overlaid with Christian symbolism. (See Pauphilet, Le Legs du Moyen Age, p. 182) All in the Mort Artu have edifying deaths. (See especially pp. 257-60) In the Queste Perceval and Bohort retire to a hermitage. Compare also Sommer, vol. 1, p. 243; vol. 6, p. 198; vol. 7, pp. 204 and 246.

CHAPTER 2 THE MONASTERY GARDEN

- 1 Edward Hyams, A History of Gardens and Gardening, p. 89.
- 2 Columella, Res Rustica 1 : 4.
- 3 Wace, Roman de Brut, vv. 13833-34.
- 4 Rule of St. Benedict, caput XLVIII "De opera manuum cotidiana". Otiositas inimica est animae; et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione divina.
- 5 Waddell, Wandering Scholars, p. 162.
- 6 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 22555-59.
- 7 Ibid., ms. E, vv. 22593-96.
- 8 Hortulus ad Grimaldum, Migne P. L., vol. 114, col. 1121-22.
- 9 John Harvey, The Medieval Architect, p. 62.
- 10 Ibid., p. 67.
- 11 Hortulus ad Grimaldum, ii, "Salvia", Migne P. L., vol. 114, col. 1122.
- 12 Queste, p. 44, vv. 3-5.
- 13 Crisp, Medieval Gardens, vol. 2, fig. 223-24. The entire plan is of the utmost importance in demonstrating what economic and religious pursuits were destined to take place within its precincts. It has been estimated that its inhabitants numbered some 110 monks and 130-150 servants or labourers so that the drawing gives an idea of what a medieval village was like and provides an insight into contemporary town planning. (Vie Paysanne, fol. 8)
- 14 Pliny, N. H. XIX, XIX, 52, "Romae quidem per se hortus ager pauperis erat".
- 15 See Fortunatus' De Floribus super altare.
- 16 Medieval English Verse, p. 206.
- 17 Columella, Res Rustica, Book 10, vv. 165-70.
- 18 De rosis nascentibus in Waddell, Medieval Latin Lyrics, pp. 25-26. The image is originally Virgilian (cf. Georgics 2 : 376)
- 19 Crisp, Medieval Gardens, vol. 2, fig 228.
- 20 See above page 33, C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 22555-59.
- 21 Marie Louise Gothein, A History of Garden Art, p. 178.
- 22 Alice Kemp Walsh, Of six Medieval Women to which is added a note on Mediaeval Gardens, p. 187.
- 23 Idem.

24 Lib. 1, caput XXI, "De monachis curam infirmorum habentibus".
Migne P. L., vol. 70, col. 1146. "Et ideo discite quidem naturas herbarum,
commixtionisque specierum sollicita mente tractate".

25 Migne P. L., vol. 70, col. 1146. "Nam quamvis medicina legatur a Domino
constituta, ipse tamen sanos efficit, qui vitam sine dubitatione concedit;
scripturam est enim: 'Omne quod facitis in verbo aut in opere, in nomine Domini
Jesu facite, gratias agentes Deo et Patri per ipsum.'"

26 Migne P. L., idem. "Quod si vobis non fuerit Graecorum litterarum nota
facundia, imprimis habetis herbarium Dioscoridis, qui herbas agrorum mirabili
proprietae disseruit atque depinxit. Post haec, legit Hippocratem atque
Galenum Latina lingua conversos, id est Therapeutica Galeni ad philosophum
Glaucum destinata, et anonymum quemdam, qui ex diversis auctoribus probatur esse
collectus. Deinde Aurelii Coelii de Medecina, et Hippocratis de Herbis et curis,
diversosque alios medendi arte compositos, quos vobis in bibliothecae nostrae
sinibus reconditos, Deo auxiliante, dereliqui."

27 Eleanour Sinclair Rohde, Herbs and Herb Gardening, p. 8, from Barnaby
Googe, Four Bookes of Husbandry.

28 Ovid, Metamorphoses IX, v. 330 ff.

29 Inferno, Canto XIII; cf. Virgil, Aeneid III, 22 ff.

30 Waddell, Medieval Latin Lyrics, p. 291.

31 Raby, A History of Secular Latin Poetry, vol. 1, p. 73.

32 Seonid M. Robertson tells of a little girl who, at an art class, was
blindfolded so that she could experience fully the texture of clay with which she
was working for the first time. She produced strange shapes surrounded by
sausage-like things, but when here eyes were unbandaged she laughed with excitement:
"There are fountains and there are flowers and lovely smells." The contrast
between the barely formed bits of clay and the child's vision was enormous. The
child had not seen such a garden as she envisaged, yet her basic idea was so
profound and mysterious, so germinal, that it gave rise to a form of artless art,
a vision of Eden. (Rose Garden & Labyrinth, pp. 6-7)

33 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 32.

34 Sommer, vol. 6, p. 191.

35 Continuation, vv. 2226-27.

36 See appendix p. 230 "hornbeam".

37 Jean Renart, Galeran, vv. 816-48.

38 Ibid., vv. 872-75.

39 Ibid., v. 865.

40 Waddell, Medieval Latin Lyrics, pp. 100-01.

41 Migne P. L., vol. 159, col. 429, Eadmeri Historis Novorum, Lib. iii.

42 Jean Renart, Galeran, vv. 1227-28.

43 Ibid., vv. 1282-85.

- 44 Ibid., 3668.
- 45 Ibid., vv. 3946-47.
- 46 Ibid., vv. 3870-72.
- 47 Ibid., vv. 1983-87.
- 48 Ibid., vv. 1998-2001.
- 49 Ibid., vv. 2049-53.
- 50 Ibid., vv. 2077-99.
- 51 Ibid., vv. 2083-84. In the Roman de la Rose, which is more overtly sensuous, the grass is described as softer than a bed on which to lie with one's love. (vv. 1392-94) The softness of the grass is an attribute of a Place of Delight. Virgil sings of "Muscosi fontes, et somno mollior herba". (Eclogue VII, v. 45)
- 52 Jean Renart, Galeran, vv. 2112-14.
- 53 Ibid., vv. 2151-52.
- 54 cf. Roman de la Rose, Guillaume de Lorris, the entire section on the rose garden. Jean de Meun, vv. 15135-42; vv. 7555-58.
- 55 Jean Renart, Galeran, vv. 2191-93.
- 56 Ibid., v. 2171.
- 57 Ibid., v. 4557. She also addresses him with the familiar "frère".
- 58 Ibid., vv. 4576-77.
- 59 Ibid., vv. 5271-72.
- 60 Ibid., v. 5540.
- 61 Ibid., vv. 5582-31.
- 62 This theme is more fully and concretely developed in the Roman de la Rose where the love-death motif, later so much used by the Elizabethans, is also evident in the episode of the Fountain of Narcissus.
- 63 Jean Renart, Galeran, vv. 7660-61. See also chap. 1, p. 18 for forest-park.
- 64 Ibid., vv. 2614-15.
- 65 Ibid., vv. 2758-59.
- 66 cf. Huizinga Homo Ludens, esp, pp. 29 and 60.
- 67 Ami et Amile, v. 170.
- 68 Ibid., vv. 910-13.
- 69 Ibid., v. 1099.
- 70 Ibid., vv. 937-939.

- 71 Ibid., vv. 941-42.
- 72 Ibid., laisses 52 and 53.
- 73 Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, chap. XIII and IX especially.
- 74 Ibid., p. 267.
- 75 Columella, Res Rustica 10, v. 25.
- 76 Virgil, Georgics IV, v. 109 ff.
- 77 Pliny, N. H. XIX, XIX, 50.
- 78 Grimal, Les Jardins Romains, p. 42.
- 79 Compare the Elizabethan term "to die", used by such poets as Donne, to signify the sexual act. Compare also the "fêtes de mai" with the branches and flowers picked in the woodland that wilt as young couples amorously dance around them.
- 80 Gothein, A History of Garden Art, p. 59.
- 81 Hauteceur, Les Jardins des Dieux et des Hommes, p. 34. Compare the Dorsetshire expression "pushing up the daisies" for "dying".
- 82 Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, pp. 294 and 297.
- 83 Hyams, p. 42.
- 84 Cf. Shakespeare's 1 Henry VI, 1, VI.
- 85 Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 296.
- 86 Namely: apples, pears, plums, service trees, medlars, chestnuts, figs, quinces, peaches, hazelnuts, almonds, mulberries and walnuts.
- 87 See appendix p. 233 for "laurel".
- 88 Migne P. L., vol. 112, col. 937.
- 89 Capitulare de Villis Imperialibus No. 70, Migne P. L., vol. 97, col. 358.
- 90 Amadas et Ydoine, vv. 5339-49.
- 91 Queste, p. 36.
- 92 Amadas et Ydoine, v. 5586.
- 93 Ibid., vv. 5355-59.
- 94 See appendix p. 237 "pine".
- 95 Amadas et Ydoine reveals twice over the Orpheus myth, but with a happy ending. Earlier Ydoine brings Amadas back from the living death of insanity. At the cemetery Amadas wins his love back from the horseman of death. Life and love win out. The anonymous English poem The Unquiet Grave has the opposite theme: the lover, seeking a kiss from his dead lady, is told by her that such an act would bring about his death rather than her resuscitation.
- 96 Amadas et Ydoine, v. 5369.

- 97 Matthew 8 : 22. Shakespeare's "Better be with the dead" (Macbeth, iii,ii). although the impact is different, could be applied to Amadas who breaks a taboo and remains in the cemetery.
- 98 Amadas et Ydoine, v. 5591, "Un poi devant la mie nuit".
- 99 Ibid., vv. 5619-20.
- 100 Ibid., v. 5598.
- 101 Ibid., v. 5661.
- 102 Ibid., vv. 6226-27. The cemetery is very large for the two opponents face each other from a distance of "plus d'un arpent". (v. 6092)
- 103 Ibid., v. 6465. "Cemetery" based on the late Latin "coemeterium" is associated with sleep rather than death. In the poem Ydoine is awoken as was the official's daughter in Matthew 9 : 24.
- 104 Sommer, vol. 7, 152.
- 105 Consider the implications of the "baptismal" or "confirmation" names given in the Catholic religion.
- 106 Queste, p. 245, v. 6-10.
- 107 Ibid., v. 11-13.
- 108 Migne P. L., vol. 111, col. 334, caput iii, to be compared with Isidor of Seville, Etymologiarum sive Originum, "De Asia" XIV, iii, 2, and also the supplement to vol. 1, of Graf which gives numerous medieval descriptions of Paradise.
- 109 Georgics II, vv. 149-150 trans. James Lonsdale and Samuel Lee.
- 110 Ibid., IV, vv. 125-148.
- 111 Chrétien de Troyes, Erec et Enide, vv. 1898-1901. The "Isle Noire" has been equated with the "Isle de Voire" the Glass Island or Glastonbury, the Isle of Apples to which the wounded Arthur was conveyed.
- 112 Floire et Blancheflor, v. 548.
- 113 Migne P. L., vol. 112, cols. 896 and 870.
- 114 Floire et Blancheflor, v. 606.
- 115 See appendix p. 289 "square".
- 116 Gerhardt, The Art of Storytelling, p. 216.
- 117 Floire et Blancheflor, vv. 556-57.
- 118 Ibid., v. 616.
- 119 See collection of Rom. articles on incantations by Paul Meyer during the years 1888-1917.
- 120 Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, pp. 253-54.
- 121 Floire et Blancheflor, v. 619.

- 122 Ibid., v. 620.
- 123 Ibid., vv. 624-31.
- 124 Ibid., vv. 632-35.
- 125 Ibid., v. 605.
- 126 Pliny, N. H. XII, 20. See also appendix, p. 229 "ebony".
- 127 Floire et Blancheflor, vv. 608-09.
- 128 Ibid., vv. 612-13.
- 129 Pliny, N. H. XII, 3, "Sed omnibus praefertur balsamum".
- 130 See appendix, p. 283 "scent".
- 131 Floire et Blancheflor, vv. 544-47.
- 132 Ibid., vv. 564-97.
- 133 See appendix, p. 263 "automata".
- 134 Lucienne Polak, "Cligès, Fenice et l'Arbre de l'Amour", Rom. XCIII, 1972, pp. 303-316.
- 135 Floire et Blancheflor, v. 783.
- 136 Ibid., vv. 821-25.
- 137 Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 21.
- 138 Graf, Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo, p. 59 ff. and Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 250.
- 139 Its roots are in Hell, its summit in Paradise. Cf. Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, pp. 21 and 250.
- 140 In Gilgamesh the Great Goddess, Siduri, is associated with the vine. (Cf. Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 244.)
- 141 Other plants owe their efficaciousness to the fact that their prototype was discovered at a cosmic moment, in a world centre, for instance on Calvary. (Cf. Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 253.)
- 142 See above pp. 44-45.
- 143 Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 222.
- 144 Ibid., p. 223.
- 145 Something of the magic circle remains even in the nursery rhyme, "Ring a ring o'roses".
- 146 Refer Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 313.
- 147 Ibid., p. 322.
- 148 Methodius, Symposium, p. 97.

- 149 Migne P. L., vol. 112, col. 968.
- 150 Hyams, p. 89.
- 151 Migne P. L., vol. 114, col. 1129-30.
- 152 See above p. 34.
- 153 Queste, p. 27.
- 154 Queste, pp. 28-29. For scent as a proof of sanctity, see above p. 45.
- 155 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, vv. 2980-81.
- 156 Migne P. L., vol. 166, col. 1181.
- 157 *Ibid.*, col. 1173-74, 1181-82.
- 158 Raby, vol. 2, p. 334.
- 159 Penguin No. 1, p. 25.
- 160 Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 210.
- 161 Les Chansons de Perdigon, ed. H. J. Chayton.
- 162 Robert de Boron, Le Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal, vv. 37-40.
- 163 Huon le Roi, Ave Maria, vv. 252-53. In a thirteenth century hymn, the Virgin is the incomparable rose without thorn, the dry branch bearing fruit, the "aiglentine" Moses found green, his burning bush untouched by fire. (Bartsch, col. 230-33)
- 164 Medieval English Verse, No. 55.
- 165 Miracle de Theophile, vv. 555-56.
- 166 These lines to the prayer are in Bib. Nat. ms. fr. 1635.
- 167 Queste, p. 263.
- 168 Faral, p. 286, vv. 263-268.
- 169 Jean Renart, Guillaume de Dole, vv. 5113-15.

CHAPTER 3 THE CASTLE GARDEN

¹ Hyams, p. 92 suggests a filiation of castle to monastery gardens. C. O. F. P. First Continuation, ms. E, vv. 22555-59.

² Sommer, vol. 1, p. 272.

³ Continuation, vv. 2623-24. Cultivation is alluded to, for Perceval's horse is given "orge et avaine et tant tremois", "tremois", being three month old wheat. Medieval literature sadly abounds in generic statements about flora: even Crescenzi uses such phrases as "& simigli alberi nobili".

⁴ See appendix, p. 237 for the "pine".

⁵ Sommer, vol. 5, p. 213.

⁶ Sommer, vol. 6, p. 108.

⁷ Continuation, vv. 16076-78.

⁸ Roman de Renart, Branche i, vv. 1839-40.

⁹ Continuation, vv. 16710-12.

¹⁰ L'Atre Périlleux, vv. 5872, 6072, 6099. See appendix, p. 230 for the "hornbeam".

¹¹ Chanson de Roland, v. 2651.

¹² See appendix, p. 237 for the "pine".

¹³ Sommer, vol. 2, p. 308.

¹⁴ C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 21486 and 21512. The court goes to "esbanoier" in a garden beyond the town where Arthur sits "desoz une hante"

¹⁵ La Vie de Saint Thomas Becket, vv. 4818-20.

¹⁶ Huon le Roi de Cambrai, Oeuvres, vv. 252-53. See above chap. 2, p. 57.

¹⁷ Guillaume de Dole. Lienors is mentioned as: "qui plus estoit droite d'une ente / et plus fresche que nule rose". (vv. 1290-91) The C. O. F. P. talks of Blanchefleur "Qui plus blanche est que flor de hante", and who is more finely coloured "Que la rose quand elle est nee". (ms. E, vv. 22756 and 22774)

¹⁸ This poem, the mention of Charlemagne's Houdon and Béroul's Tristan are some of the few occasions in medieval literature where dogs are sympathetically treated, (as opposed to their casual mention as hunting dogs, often the cause of strife). In Tristan the hero's faithful Husdent is taught to hunt without barking. It is true that Theodorick of Saint Trond Liège, wrote a delightful poem on the death of his Fresian puppy (Raby, vol. 2, p. 144) but the word "dog" is also an insult. In L'Histoire del Saint Graal (Sommer, vol. 1, p. 216) Nacien sees in a dream his descendant Lancelot as a dog because of his sin of "luxuria" whereas Galaad appears as a lion for his excellence. Rabanus Maurus sums up this dichotomy of feeling attached to the dog: "canis est peccator impudens" whereas "catullus est Christus". (Migne P. L., vol. 112, cols. 883 and 889) Something of this has

survived into modern parlance: one has only to oppose "a dog is a man's best friend", to "he is a dog". The same notion was current in the East. In the Zoroastrian religion offerings were made to dogs for it was believed that they helped the souls of the dead to escape from earthly bonds. (Boyce, p. 163) Sadi, (ed. Eastwick, Maxim LXXV, p. 235) on the other hand writes: "The most glorious of created things, in outward form is man; and the most vile of living things, is a dog; yet by the unanimous consent of the wise, a grateful dog is better than an ungrateful man". Islam teaches that dogs are "haram", unclean. For the Ancients the dog had a certain sacrificial value: Columella (1 : 27) maintains that on holidays certain gardening jobs can be performed if a puppy has first been sacrificed. For a discussion of the medieval attitude to animals see Ladurie Montaillou, chap. XIX.

¹⁹ Chastelaine de Vergi, vv. 388-91 cf. Bérroul's Tristan, v. 258 ff. where similarly King Marc hides in a tree to spy on the lovers.

²⁰ Chastelaine de Vergi, vv. 388-391.

²¹ Moniage Guillaume, v. 3729.

²² *Ibid.*, v. 3941.

²³ Sommer, vol. 5, pp. 210, 219, 220 and 196.

²⁴ Roman de Renart, v. 1718.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vv. 1839-40.

²⁶ C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 9202-06. Between this and the episode of Bran de Lis the king lodges with Yder le Bel.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vv. 9525-34.

²⁸ Ms. E, gives olives; mss. A.S.P.U. give cypresses.

²⁹ C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 9706-10.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, mss. T.V.D., v. 10514, ms. E. gives "lorier et sarpin".

³¹ *Ibid.*, mss. T.V.D., vv. 10515-26. Ms. E, gives "olivier" but the connotations of both trees are heroism and peace. Gauvain, because of his insult to the Demoisele de Lis, disturbs the peace. His presence is betrayed by the tactless Ké who runs out into the garden chasing a "brachet" with a collar of precious stones to give to Arthur as a companion for his hound Huden. (See p. 18. Dogs were often the source of trouble.) A savage fight ensues between Gauvain and Bran de Lis but peace is made through the intervention of a child.

³² *Ibid.*, Second Continuation, vv. 9982-85. Such superlatives are frequently applied to the pine in literature.

³³ *Ibid.*, ms. E, v. 20010; cf. ms. E, v. 9860. Perceval was almost drowned by a "luxuria"-type figure, a girl sitting beneath a tree (ms. A, v. 9913, "olivier"; ms. E, v. 20047, "alemandier") combing her hair. However his horse refuses to enter the ferry and Perceval crosses safely. The text does not elucidate who is the attractive damsel combing her hair beneath a fruit tree. However hair has precise connotations. Hair is sensuous: (Cligès, vv. 1362-65) A golden hair woven into Alexander's tunic incites Soredamors to love. Hair can be a mark of maidenhood: (Sommer, vol. 4, p. 284) For example Lancelot's meeting with a maiden: "Et lors encontre vne demoisele toute kenue quie cheualchoit moult noblement. et auoit sez treches toutes desloies par sez espaulles comme pucele.

Et auoit en son chief chapel de roses quar ce estoit entor la saint iehen." To lose hair is a dishonour: (Sommer, vol. 4, p. 103) A damsel wants retribution because her tresses have been cut off, an outrage. (Sommer, vol. 4, p. 92) Lancelot rescues another damsel hanging ignominiously from an oak by her locks. Hair is the crowning glory: (Sommer, vol. 5, p. 92) Lancelot loses his hair after drinking poisoned water and is not recognised by Morgain who has captured him. (Sommer, vol. 7, p. 261) Nacien, when he becomes a hermit following the chivalry of the spirit, takes the habit and as a supreme abnegation cuts off his beautiful hair.

34 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, v. 10131. The chastelaine of the Magic Chessboard Castle promises Perceval love if he will get for her the head of the white stag in this park.

35 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. A.S.P.U., vv. 2885-87.

36 Alardin's sister, "la pucele del pavillon" can heal for she knows medicines made from herbs and roots. (vv. 4226-29) Alardin gives Carados a magic piece of metal to heal Guignier.

37 See chap. 1, p. 13.

38 See chap. 2, p. 54.

39 See Dechamps, Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte, pp. 74-75. Similar to this is the causeway that leads to the Grail Castle. It is planted with trees that arch overhead in the manner of an avenue. (C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 13104-08) The trees mentioned are the cypress, pine and laurel; mss. A.S.P. give the almond; ms. L, adds the olive and the exotic ebony while ms. E, mentions the pear tree. The "chauciee" was long for it takes Perceval from nightfall to nearly midnight to arrive at the light that shines down on the archway of boughs. Waves break against the causeway, the wind howls and almost rips out the trees and the branches are thrown creaking against each other. It is an eerie approach.

40 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 8293-94. For the description of the castle see vv. 8280-8315.

41 de Agricultura Vulgare, Lib. 8, cap. 1.

42 Crescenzi lists as herbs, rue, sage basil, marjoram and mint and as flowers, violets, lilies, roses and the much discussed "ghiaguolo", probably a species of iris. The word is based on a diminutive of the Latin "gladius", "sword", and was applied to plants with sword-like leaves. Pliny uses the name amongst other plants for the cornflag *Gladiolus segetum*. (N. H. XXI 65, 107, 108, 11, 115) Compare Crescenzi's list to that of Albertus Magnus who recommends "ruta et salvia et basilicon" as sweet smelling herbs and "viola aquilea lilium rosa gladiolus" as flowers.

43 The fundamental idea of "keeping out" from a garden will be dealt with in the following chapter.

44 N. H. XVII, XVIII 91. The idea of "benevolent" and "malevolent" species is common to Pliny and to later authors. Albertus Magnus and Pietro de' Crescenzi give identical lists of trees to be planted: namely vine, apple, pear, laurel, pomegranate and cypress.

45 "Shade" and its implications will be treated later. Varro, (I : XII) orients his farmhouse to face east with its healthy winds and to have shade in Summer and Winter sunshine.

- 46 Georgina Masson, Italian Gardens, plates 140 and 141.
- 47 de Agricultura Vulgare, p. 158. He also suggests plants to be grown as a surrounding hedge and lists trees suitable for either hot or cold climates (a total of sixteen species), and he further uses the great Italian and French habit of tantalizing general statements when he adds "e di simiglianti albori nobili".
- 48 Ibid., p. 148, cf. Albertus Magnus: "Dilectio enim quaeritur in viridario, et non fructus". In general the two descriptions are almost identical.
- 49 Charageat, "Le Parc d'Hesdin", Société de l'Histoire et de l'Art Française 1950, p. 94. The area given is 1 km. x 1.5 km. x 1.2 km x 1.5 km. x 3 km. The computation of 463 ha. or 1143 acres is calculated on the assumption that the pentagon was close to regular. Gardens were often vast: in Roland, Charlemagne receives Marsile in an orchard where 15,000 were gathered.
- 50 See appendix, p. 263 "automata".
- 51 Charageat, "Le Parc d'Hesdin", pp. 102-106.
- 52 Ibid., p. 101.
- 53 The illustration refers to Orpheus, but that myth was reenacted in garden settings from Roman times to the Renaissance.
- 54 Battisti, ed. Coffin, p. 14. The author gives examples of theatre type gardens in fifteenth century Florence and is of the opinion that the outdoor theatre developed from loggias on one or two sides of a garden. These outdoor loggias are anticipated by Crescenzi.
- 55 The Letters of the Younger Pliny, Book 5, no. 6, "To Domitius Apollinaris". Pliny writes: "And then suddenly in the midst of this ornamental scene (of topiary work and formal arrangement) is what looks like a piece of rural country planted there".
- 56 Crescenzi, p. 159.
- 57 The trees recommended are the cherry, apple or better still the willow, (obedilli) and elm.
- 58 Masson, p. 53 is also of this view.
- 59 Such bower-palaces were in fact built. Crescenzi (de Agricultura Vulgare, pp. 5-6) describes the art of topiary and tying and weaving work to form platforms of greenery. He claims to have created houses of growing trees with columns and doorways tall enough for a man to stand in. Lest this fact be doubted, Crescenzi adds, he has the witness of both people of the world and the religious.
- 60 See appendix, p. 228 "cypress".
- 61 Crescenzi, p. 159.
- 62 Chronicle of Morea, p. 157. Another seige lasted for three years. In the Mort Artu (p. 147), after the seige of the Joyeuse Garde, Lancelot hands Guinevere back to the King dressed in her best and with apparent rejoicing. To allay Arthur's suspicions about their adultery, Lancelot claims that he had supplies and food enough to withstand the seige for five years.
- 63 Chronicle of Morea, p. 178.

- 64 In comparison Saone was more than twice the size covering 5.5 ha.
- 65 Dechamps, Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte, p. 3 and p. 94.
- 66 It should be remembered that six or seven generations of French lived relatively peacefully in the Holy Land for nearly 200 years despite frontier attacks.
- 67 Deschamps, p. 18.
- 68 Hist. Hierosol II, c.v.; Hist. Occ. Crois. III, p. 380. Quoted Deschamps, p. 18.
- 69 Voy. Laurent, quoted Deschamps, p. 34.
- 70 Deschamps, p. 7.
- 71 See Ebersolt for reciprocal influence. Also the four square castle with large central keep flanked by four smaller towers was influenced by the Byzantine "castella" built by Greeks.
- 72 Chrétien, Yvain, vv. 238-40. The castle has a wooden tower and is surrounded by a palisade and moat. The flowery mead appears therefore to be surrounded by three separate barriers.
- 73 Letters of the Younger Pliny, Book 5, pp. 139-140. Pliny achieved the effect of a haw-haw so that the limits of the garden proper faded into the landscape. The hippodrome, too, had "a piece of rural country", a willed contrast to the formality of the laurel and box "clipped into innumerable shapes, some being letters which spelt the gardener's name or his master's". (pp. 142-43)
- 74 Bloch, La Société Féodale, p. 32.
- 75 Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, pp. 333-34. Hagiographic literature and the Arthurian cycle describing such hunts as the "Chasse au Cerf Blanc" combine the real with the mythical.
- 76 Migne P. L., vol. 97, col. 853. The translation is by Prof. G. Gellie.
- 77 Sommer, vol. 2, p. 335. A window can also be a form of isolation: Fenice first sees Cligès from a window where she delights to sit, yet she dares not ask his name nor his lineage. (Cligès, v. 2862) In Le Livre d'Artus Lore and Gauvain respectively sit at windows, a symbol of sadness and isolation.
The importance of the breeze and sitting at open windows is worthy of comment for it has been estimated (The Age, 16/2/79) that in the century or so before 1430 Europe benefited from "a little tropical age". So it stands to reason that Crescenzi orients his garden to take full advantage of the health giving "aquilone" (see above p. 59) and to block off the hot southern winds. Varro, (Rerum Rusticarum I : XII) orients his farmhouse to face the east with its healthy winds and to have shade in Summer and Winter sunshine. In Hortulus importance is also placed on the aspect of the garden. Methodius (Symposium, p. 40) comments on the scented breezes in Arete's high estate. The first verse of Joachim de Belly's "D'un vanneur de blé au vents" shows the poetic symbolism of that unseen force of nature but similar connotations to the breeze exist in medieval times. Rabanus Maurus writes that "Ventus est Dominus" (Migne P. L., vol. 112, col. 1073), a force felt but unseen. However perhaps the epitome of what the word stands for is best expressed by St. Francis of Assisi:
- All praise be yours, my Lord, through Brothers Wind and Air,
And fair and stormy, all the weather's moods,
By which you cherish all that you have made.
- (trans. Raphael Brown, Benen Fahy, Placid Herman, et al.)

- 78 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 22436-2258.
- 79 For further information on the above see Gothein pp. 65, 85, 88 and 117, and Hyams, pp. 45, 48 and 50.
- 80 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 138.
- 81 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 471. In Floire et Blancheflor, also, the hero and the guardian of the "Tour d'Antiquité" go to a garden to talk privately and play chess. (vv. 2038-41)
- 82 Gerhart, The Art of Storytelling, p. 424.
- 83 Crescenzi, lib. 8, cap. III, "De giardini de Re e degli altri ricchi signori".
- 84 Roman de la Rose, vv. 712-14.
- 85 Erec et Enide, v. 5828: "Et cil s'an et tote une sante".
- 86 Troilus and Criseyde, Book II, vv. 820-22.
- 87 For some examples see C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, v. 21982 ff. 30926; Sommer, vol. 5, p. 305; Le Bel Inconnu, v. 932 ff.
- 88 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, v. 21368 ff.
- 89 Huon de Bordeaux, vv. 3822-24.
- 90 Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, p. 172.
- 91 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, ms. E, v. 2065 ff.
- 92 Ibid., v. 2456.
- 93 "Quant je la tieng ou prael" quoted Fox, Literary History of France, p. 184
- 94 Methodius, Symposium, pp. 40-41.
- 95 Floire et Blancheflor, v. 248. For this garden see vv. 239-50.
- 96 A. Arber p. 8, quotes one of the myths used to frighten the would be gatherer of this narcotic plant: "one should draw three circles around mandrake with a sword, and cut it with one's face towards the west; and at the cutting of the second piece one should dance around the plant (...) One should also look out for an eagle on both the right and the left; for that there is a danger to those that cut, if your eagle should come near, that they may die within a year."
- 97 Migne, P. L., vol. 112, col. 995.
- 98 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 148.
- 99 Albertus Magnus, cap. XIV, "De plantatione viridariourum", p. 637.
- 100 It was the period when the library of St. Gall was burnt by the Huns and wolves hunted in the Auvergne.
- 101 Wace, Roman de Brut, vv. 933-34.
- 102 Ibid. For the warfare scenes see vv. 470-72; 621-48; 683-85; 819-22; 933-34; 3089-90. Refer also Barbara Tuchman, A Distant Mirror and Bloch, Société Féodale, pp. 22-23.

103 Wace, Roman de Brut, vv. 13737 and 14491-94. Burning and sacking of the country was just a regular part of war. Of Claudas it is said: "il fist moult grant damage des proies quil prinst parmi la terre. et les villes quil trouva sans murs mist il tous a fu & en charbon". The Saisnes in particular devastated the country: "ardent & destruient & ochient quanques il ataignet". (Sommer, vol. 2 p. 168) In Sommer vol. 7, p. 139, a place is called "La Deserte" after towns were sacked and burnt. The land where Perceval lives is also destroyed and deserted for the folk have fled to castles, cities and fortresses. (p. 236) There are none left to till the soil and it is called "La Gaste Forest Soutaine". It is in direct and fascinating contrast to the castle where Perceval's half brother, Agloval lives. Great is the joy when the brothers are reunited and there are so many torches it seemed "que toute la maison arsisit". (p. 237) There are all good things in abundance and the food could not be bettered. Yet Agloval and his fourteen brothers are soon slaughtered. (Perceval is too young to fight.) The wasteland motif again appears after an interval of rejoicing.

Famine and malnutrition were an ever-present corollary of warfare: only at intervals between battles could due importance be placed on banquets and picnics so important in medieval life. Wace sums up this state:

Engleterre fut apovrie
 Failliz li blez, la gent perie,
 Le plus de le terre fud guast,
 Qu'il n'i aveit qui laborast.

(Roman de Brut, vv. 1407-10)

Capellanus has a rather typical attitude to "vilains", no mention of the crops decimated by the troops, but only a command that "vilains" should not love or else they will not till the soil.

104 Renaut de Beaujeu, Li Biaus Desconneus, vv. 2872; 2774-2810.

105 Loomis, Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, p. 363. See also pp. 280-81 for the wasteland.

106 Ibid., p. 271 for the sympathetic relations between king and kingdom. Compare Montaillou, pp. 438 and 489 for the influence that the "perfect" were believed to have on the crop. Loomis considers the "fier baiser" a Celtic motif whilst Gaston Paris maintained that it was of Eastern origin.

107 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 108. There is some ambiguity in the approach to the sexual act. The book talks of the "fleur perdue", the loss of virginity or sin, but from it came Galaad "une autre fleur" also called "li uirgenes li bons chevaliers". We are close to the notion of the Adonis garden.

108 Continuation, vv. 6192-6224; 6314-6417; 6458.

109 Ibid., vv. 399-400; 103-61; 320-69. Perceval cannot, however, complete the quest because of his "sin" in abandoning his mother to die at the bridge head.

110 C. O. F. P., vv. 13560-62. God did not populate the country more because Gauvain did not ask further. (vv. 13573-74) The people he passes greet him as a saviour but curse him for failing to ask about the Grail.

111 Isaiah XXXV : 7.

112 Sommer, vol. 1, pp. 150 and 153.

113 Sommer, vol. 6, p. 147. There is a reduplication of the "maimed king" in this version.

114 Sommer, vol. 1, p. 290.

115 Le Chevalier au Barisel, vv. 22-52. That sin is outwardly manifested has its basis in the Bible. The idea continues into medieval times: lepers were cast out and at times persecuted because their disease was thought to reflect uncleanness of the soul. Compare Isaiah XXXIV : 13, "Thorns will grow in the palaces there / Thistles and nettles in its fortresses."

116 Queste, p. 122.

117 Continuation, vv. 8944; 9084; 9420-22.

118 Sometimes the cause of the wasteland is not given. In the C. O. F. P. Arthur and fifteen of his knights cross a wasteland, a blasted heath, also referred to as a "lande de geneste" or "bruiere". The motif is made realistic for the men have nothing to eat. The desolation of the land is intensified by the existence of a solitary tree and fountain where the king rests while Ké goes to explore a little house and garden further down the valley. But the old woman there can offer no provisions and says there is only wasteland about for twenty leagues (vv. 9239-40) except for the house of Yder le Bel. The wasteland is contrasted to the amazingly fertile landscape of orchards and vineyards that surround his hunting lodge. (vv. 9261-62)

Even "good" knights could cause desolation: Claudas' land is called "la terre deserte" because it was laid waste by Uterpandragon; (Sommer, vol. 3, p. 3) Calogrenant and Yvain cause tempest and destruction of the land by violating the fountain taboo, the fountain being "le bornes" of the domain. We are faced with the enigma of the associations of water: normally it causes fertility but here water spilt causes destruction. (Chrétien, Le Chevalier au Lion, vv. 395-407; 432-48; 503-14)

119 Wace, Roman de Brut, vv. 10237-41; 10211-20.

120 Sommer, vol. 3, p. 126. Arthur had earlier met this knight in the forest. (p. 119)

121 Sommer, vol. 4, p. 291.

122 See appendix, p. 249 "vine".

123 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, ms. E, vv. 5531-32.

124 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 2204-05.

125 Ibid., vv. 2233-35.

126 For further discussion of the Tower of Maidens, see chap. 5, p. 148. Yvain in this episode is helped by Ké, and, as the poem says:

Mais ainc a nul jor de sa vie
Ne fist plus bele cortoisie
Que il fist en cestui affaire.

(First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 2299-301)

Ké here is vastly different to Chrétien's character.

127 L'Atre Périlleux, v. 4880.

128 Ibid., vv. 2122-27 and 2462. The moral qualities of the opponents are reflected by their fighting ability: Escanor, strongest early in the day and weakening after noon, is defeated by Gauvain who, with his solar characteristics, redoubles in strength after midday.

129 Jean Renart, Guillaume de Dole, Intro XIV.

130 Ibid., v. 210.

- 131 Ibid., v. 261.
- 132 Ibid., vv. 262-65.
- 133 Ibid., vv. 1280-81.
- 134 See above chap. 1, p.13, notes 40 and 41.
- 135 Jean Renart, Guillaume de Dole, vv. 1296-307.
- 136 Ibid., vv. 1616-17.
- 137 Ibid., vv. 2369-72.
- 138 Ibid., vv. 3180-87.
- 139 Ibid., v. 3188.
- 140 La Mort Artus, ed. J. D. Bruce, p. 42.
- 141 Sommer, vol. 1, p. 107.
- 142 Sommer, vol. 3, p. 86.
- 143 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 430.
- 144 Ami et Amile, vv. 3427-30.
- 145 Ibid., v. 3447.
- 146 Chrétien de Troyes, Le Chevalier au Lion, v. 180.
- 147 Ibid., vv. 337-38.
- 148 Ibid., v. 204.
- 149 Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p. 999.
- 150 Ibid., p. 183.
- 151 Capitulare de Villis 36, Migne P. L., vol. 97, col. 353.
- 152 Sommer, vol. 7, p. 94.
- 153 Ibid., p. 95.
- 154 Ibid., pp. 96 and 100.
- 155 Ibid., p. 97.
- 156 Ibid., p. 108.
- 157 Ibid., p. 106.
- 158 Huon de Bordeaux, laisses XLVII-IL.
- 159 Ibid., vv. 5448-50.
- 160 Ibid., vv. 5572-79.

- 161 Courtois d'Arras, v. 283.
- 162 Xenophon, Anabasis : I, IV, 9.
- 163 From the end of the twelfth century the notion of eternal youth was associated with the land of Prester John. (Huon de Bordeaux, p. 30) Faral, (Recherches sur les Sources Latines des Contes et Romans Courtois du Moyen Age, p. 341) draws attention to the fact that in Guigemar the hero finds, in the magic boat that he boards, a bed with a pillow such as "Ki nus eust sur chief tenu, / Ja meis le peil n'avrient chenu". (Guigemar, vv. 179-80) Also in Alexandre, amongst other marvellous clothing described, there is a "pellisson" so wonderful that "Ki l'a sur sei, si a tal medecine / Que cha n'avra pel chenu en la crine". (Alexandre, vv. 289-90)
- 164 Huon de Bordeaux, laisse LVI. However there is an interesting variant here on the Paradise theme: the serpent appears to guard the water from those who are evil or treacherous.
- 165 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 399: "si sen ala lancelos a vne fontaine qui estoit dedans de uergier, & sassist deles la fontaine. & puis ne demoura gaires quil sendormi:."
- 166 Ibid., p. 400.
- 167 Ibid., pp. 403-4. Note motif of pine and honourable joust.
- 168 Sommer, vol. 3, p. 334.
- 169 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 265.
- 170 Gui de Warewic, vv. 12229-30.
- 171 Ibid., v. 12238.
- 172 Ibid., v. 12262.
- 173 Ibid., vv. 12287-95.
- 174 Ibid., vv. 12300-06.
- 175 Ibid., vv. 12326-30.
- 176 Ibid., v. 12351.
- 177 Ibid., v. 12390.
- 178 Ibid., vv. 12393-96.
- 179 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 2117-27. See appendix, p. 228 for "cypress".
- 180 Abrioris talks of the lion "que je tant amoie" (ms. E, v. 21217). In another Arthurian Romance a faithful lion, basking in the sun in a garden is treacherously set upon and fatally wounded. It has barely the strength to crawl to its master's feet before dying.
- 181 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, v. 21376.
- 182 Wace, Roman de Brut, vv. 6463-64; 6466, "del felun ne se gardait".

- 183 Renaut de Beaujeu, Le Bel Inconnu, vv. 893-94.
- 184 Ibid., v. 910.
- 185 Ibid., vv. 902-05; 932-33; 956.
- 186 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, vol. IV, ms. E, v. 21691.
- 187 Ibid., ms. E, v. 21726.
- 188 Ibid., ms. E. vv. 21812-16.
- 189 Sommer, vol. 4, p. 96.
- 190 In this episode, as in the episode of "l'ostel a la dame" (Mort Artu, p. 42), the word "cort" appears definitely to have the meaning of "garden". See appendix for terms referring to "garden": Horticultural Terms p. 278.
- 191 Sommer, vol. 4, p. 98.
- 192 Continuation, vol. 2, vv. 7674-75.
- 193 Ibid., v. 7903.
- 194 Ami et Amile, vv. 233-56.
- 195 Ibid., laisse, 35.
- 196 Ibid., vv. 335-39.
- 197 See appendix, p. 254 "yew".
- 198 Ami et Amile, vv. 387-90.
- 199 See appendix, p. 231 "laburnum".
- 200 Sommer, vol. 2, pp. 308-09.
- 201 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 14515-18.
- 202 Ibid., mss. T.V.D., v. 14573. See appendix, p. 224 "almond".
- 203 Ibid., mss. T.V.D., vv. 14634-36.
- 204 Chrétien de Troyes, Le Chevalier au Lion, vv. 5109-29.
- 205 Ibid., vv. 5185-86.
- 206 Ibid., v. 5227.
- 207 Ibid., v. 5309.
- 208 Ibid., vv. 5345-73.
- 209 Compare the opening to the Chanson de Sainte Foïr: "Legir audi soz eiss un pin".
- 210 Chrétien de Troyes, Le Chevalier au Lion, vv. 5394-437.
- 211 Sommer, vol. 1, p. 238.

- 212 Compare L'Atre Périlleux where Escanor fights Gauvain in a garden setting. (vv. 2122-27; 2462)
- 213 C. O. F. P., vol. 2, ms. E, vv. 4153-55.
- 214 Ibid., vol. 2, ms. E, vv. 2545-47.
- 215 Ibid., vol. 2, ms. E, vv. 4600-04.
- 216 Ibid., First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., v. 9204; mss. A.S.P.U., v. 3827.
- 217 Ibid., First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 9253-56.
- 218 As is well known, this is Ké's traditional role. Yet until now in the C. O. F. P., particularly in the episode of Brun le Branlant, Ké has been represented as a knight of courtly virtue.
- 219 Ibid., First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 9401-02.
- 220 Courtois d'Arras, vv. 99-101.
- 221 Ibid., vv. 114-16.
- 222 Ibid., v. 125.
- 223 Ibid., v. 197.
- 224 Ibid., v. 240.
- 225 Ibid., vv. 281-83.
- 226 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 28774-75.
- 227 Ibid., v. 28783.
- 228 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 11341-47.
- 229 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 140.
- 230 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 11641-44; 11706.
- 231 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 289.
- 232 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 11219-23.
- 233 Ibid., vv. 11578-80.
- 234 Ibid., v. 11954.
- 235 Ibid., "toz ardans", v. 11956.
- 236 See appendix p. 230 "hornbeam".
- 237 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., v. 4368.
- 238 Ibid., vv. 2378-80.
- 239 Ibid., vv. 4388 and 4567.
- 240 Ibid., v. 4570. For this episode see vv. 4330-4578.

- 241 Ibid., v. 4719.
- 242 Ibid., v. 4812.
- 243 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 229. Refer also to Gui de Warewic, vv. 8449-51, for another example of jousting on islands, a little like the Celtic otherworld.
- 244 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 45.
- 245 L'Atre Périlleux, vv. 5872; 6072; 6099.
- 246 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 257, cf. p. 89 of the same work for an even more elaborate tilt-yard fountain where the water rises also through a silver tube then falls over a marble stone into a lead container as big as "vne tonne". The fountain is completely shaded by three enormous pines.
- 247 Ibid., p. 253.
- 248 Queste, p. 140.
- 249 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 99.
- 250 Ibid., p. 271.
- 251 Jean Renart, Guillaume de Dole, vv. 2536-37.
- 252 See appendix, p. 251 "violets".
- 253 Homo Ludens, pp. 60-61.
- 254 Ibid., p. 205.
- 255 Mabinogion, p. 259 ff.
- 256 Loomis, Arthurian Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p. 554.
- 257 Loomis, Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes, p. 117.
- 258 A theme that runs right through Barbara Tuchman's A Distant Mirror.
- 259 Sommer, vol. 2, p. 211
- 260 Sommer, vol. 2, p. 382.
- 261 Ibid., p. 335.
- 262 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 251.
- 263 Ibid., p. 176.
- 264 Ibid., p. 170.
- 265 See appendix, p. 245 "sycamore".
- 266 Sommer, vol. 4, p. 262.
- 267 Sommer, vol. 6, p. 11.
- 268 Sommer, vol. 5, pp. 403-07.

- 269 Sommer, vol. 4, p. 197.
- 270 Ibid., pp. 291-92.
- 271 Sommer, vol. 6, part 2, p. 210.
- 272 Ibid., p. 267.
- 273 Ami et Amile, vv. 1385-87.
- 274 Ibid., vv. 1393-94.
- 275 Ibid., v. 1470.
- 276 Sommer, vol. 6, p. 123.
- 277 Ibid., part 2, pp. 349-54.
- 278 Ibid., part 2, p. 349.
- 279 Ibid., part 2, pp. 350-51.
- 280 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 89, cf. p. 133 where Yvain, disarmed was rushed upon by a knight and barely escaped a similar fate.

281 The joust, although enjoyed, had the worst elements of warfare: the unarmed could be challenged, those vanquished in honourable fight could be shamed. Sometimes they were pelted with sticks or stones (Sommer, vol. 5, p. 251), beaten with the flat of the sword, forced to reveal their names, sent to the conqueror's court or made to undertake some quest; at other times they were ignominiously killed. Perhaps worse still were the savage wounds inflicted: Hector, for instance, cut off part of a man's face before killing him. (Sommer, vol. 5, p. 439) Apart from cruelty, jousting also revealed valour and chivalry: Lancelot is always praised for sparing the lives of the vanquished. This aspect of romance in jousting is echoed by the beauty of the tilt-yard. Rabanus Maurus writes that "campus" signifies this world. (Migne P. L., vol. 112, col. 881) So, too, the field where the joust took place represented many aspects of society.

* * *

CHAPTER 4 THE GARDEN OF LOVE

¹ The Talmudists believed that Original Sin consisted of the copulation of Adam and Eve. In any case the Fall represented at very least a loss of spiritual virginity. In the Queste (p. 211), the Tree of Life is at first called "mortiex" because it causes Adam and Eve to be ashamed at their nakedness and to lose Paradise. Yet the branch from it that Eve takes grows white in proof that she is still a virgin and only turns green when she and Adam make fruitful love beneath it at God's command. (pp. 210-26) Green is the symbol of fertility and hope, also of suffering and patience (Sommer, vol. 1, pp. 39 and 140), all of which are associated with the bearing of children. Before us is the widespread myth uniting human fecundity to the fertility of the soil. But there is more besides; Frappier sees in the episode a symbol of "l'ivresse cosmique" known also in Oriental myths long before the advent of Christ. (Etude sur La Mort le Roi Artu, p. 99) Above all it is a symbol of progress, of spiritual ascent: the forbidden tree at first called the Tree of Death becomes the Tree of Life. (See also Sommer, vol. 1, pp. 126-130)

² See the Interpreters' Bible.

³ The Odyssey, trans. Robert Fitzgerald, Book 4, vv. 561-68.

⁴ Ibid., Book 5, vv. 67-76.

⁵ Ibid., Book 7, vv. 112-35.

⁶ E. R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, see chap. 4. The "locus amoenus" motif is at least sketched by many Classical authors. Virgil in the Bucolics praises the mossy fountains, the light filtered through tree fronds and fields scattered with flowers, (Opera VII, trans R. A. B. Mynors, vv. 45-47, vv. 55-57; Eclogue IX, vv. 40-42) and he sums up in the following way a Place of Delight: "hic gelide fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori: Hic nemus". (Eclogue X, vv. 42-43) In fact the theme of the sacred or beautiful wood is often an element of the "locus amoenus" and must stem from an ancient cult of vegetation. Apuleius describes such a place that Psyche discovers on awakening: "videt lucum proceris et vastis arboribus constitum, videt fontem vireo latice perlucidum medio luci meditullio." (The Golden Ass, Book V, p. 201)

⁷ The association of the Terrestrial Paradise to the "locus amoenus" takes place at an early date. Honorius of Autun writes that Paradise is a Place of Delight in the East and Rabanus Maurus develops this association: "Paradisus est locus in Orientis partibus constitus, cujus vocabulum ex Graeco in Latinum vertitur 'hortus'. Porro Hebraice Eden dicitur, quod in lingua nostra 'deliciae' interpretatur: quod utrumque junctum facit hortum deliciarum." (Migne P. L., vol. III, cap. 3, col. 334) He also links Eden to the garden of the Song of Songs: "Paradisus Ecclesia est, sic enim de illa legitur in Canticis Canticorum: Hortus conclusus sorsor mea." (Migne P. L., vol. 107 cap. XII, cols. 479-80) Ekkehard also associated Paradise to the "locus amoenus": "Qui pulcher visus locus, effice sit paradysus / Deliciis plenus locus appellatur amoenus ..." (E. Faral, Les Arts Poétiques aux XIIe et XIIIe siècle, p. 104) Strabo gives to "Eden" an even more precise sense than does Rabanus Maurus: he says that in Hebrew the word means "voluptas". (Migne P. L., vol. 113, col. 88) When the word "paradise" is used in medieval literature one must not forget the sensual, erotic and religious connotations.

⁸ Medieval English Verse, No. 86.

- ⁹ Aucassin et Nicolette, 6 : p. 7.
- ¹⁰ Compare the works of J. D. Robertson Jnr.
- ¹¹ Compare Huizinga, Homo Ludens.
- ¹² Nykl, Hispano-Arabic poetry and its relations with the old Provençale Troubadours, p. 21.
- ¹³ "A Byzantine source for Guillaume de Lorris", P. M. L. A. XXXI, N.S. XXXIV, pp. 232-46.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 240. Also S. Juan de la Cruz combines imagery from the Song of Songs with possible oriental influences.
- ¹⁵ E. R. Curtius, chap. 10, and letter 28/11/77 from Mrs. Jeffries, Greek Department, Univ. of Sydney.
- ¹⁶ Oeuvres, publiées par Paul Lacrois, pp. 43-47.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- ¹⁸ Medieval English Verse, No. 55.
- ¹⁹ Cligès, vv. 6262-65.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, v. 6268.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, vv. 6273 and 6280.
- ²² *Ibid.*, vv. 6317-20.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, v. 6363.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 6378.
- ²⁵ Floire et Blancheflor, vv. 377-81.
- ²⁶ Appendix, p. 283 for discussion on "scent".
- ²⁷ Floire et Blancheflor, Fragment du Vatican, vv. 212-17.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, vv. 218-24. See above chap. 2, p. 57, for Mary as the grafted pear.
- ²⁹ Song of Songs, 5 : 1.
- ³⁰ Boyce, pp. 88-89; 137-138.
- ³¹ Brown, "Iwain", p. 29.
- ³² Sommer, vol. 7, p. 295.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 298.
- ³⁴ Erec et Enide, vv. 5698-5704.
- ³⁵ Guillaume de Dole, vv. 3363-64.
- ³⁶ Cligès, vv. 5120-21.

- 37 Ibid., v. 5144.
- 38 Les Chansons de Guilhem de Cabestanh, ed. Artur Långfors.
- 39 Sommer, vol. 4, p. 269.
- 40 Cligès, vv. 2336-42.
- 41 Bartsch, Chrestomatie Provençale, col. 273.
- 42 Floire et Blancheflor, v. 2221.
- 43 See appendix, p. 242 "rose".
- 44 Donald N. Wilbur, Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions, p. 23.
- 45 For example "Rose and Nightingale", No. 44, Fifty Poem of Hafiz, ed. Arthur J. Arberry.
- 46 Ibid., No. 24,
- 47 Quoted Ernest Langlois, Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose, p. 36.
- 48 Roman de la Rose, vv. 826-28. See also appendix p. 274 "garlands".
- 49 Ibid., v. 44.
- 50 See for instance the Conseil de Remiremont. C. S. Lewis pp. 18-21 gives a very clear outline of the divergent attitudes towards love.
- 51 Roman de la Rose, vv. 1625-26.
- 52 For a detailed description of the rose see vv. 1654-65. Its attributes are the following: a delightful scent, a colour "si vermeille et si fine", "quatre paire" of leaves "assises tire a tire" and a very straight stem. Vv. 3347-49 suggest that the leaves enclose the bud, a formation which explains the Lover's joy when he receives "une vert feuille / vers le bouton". (vv. 2860-61) What is this rose? Mr. Priestly of the Rose Society of Victoria suggests that it might be *R. alpina*, a red rose with a straight stem. The stem is short so that the leaves grow beyond the flower. Because of the formation it is difficult to count the leaves exactly. The flower is rather small, two inches in diameter but one does not expect in the middle ages a rose of the size of modern hybrids. An ancient poem compares the beauty of the parsley flower to that of the rose. (Hyams 42, and cf. Gothein 58: "Where shall I find the rose, the violet and the lovely parsley".) The difficulty is that *R. alpina* is subalpine and smells of turpentine! More likely it is, as Dr. S. J. Scott suggests, the deep red *R. gallica*, now known as *R. gallica officinalis*.
- 53 Roman de la Rose, v. 2900.
- 54 Vida de Piere Vidal, Bergin, Anthology of Provençale Troubadours, p. 120.
- 55 Troilus and Criseyde, Book 1, vv. 948-49.
- 56 Roman de la Rose, vv. 1670 and 1678.
- 57 Ibid., vv. 1727-28.
- 58 Ibid., vv. 1399-1400.

59 Idyllion II, vv. 40-41, quoted Pearsell and Salter, p. 21.

60 Quoted Hauteceur, p. 85.

61 For example, Ronsard's "Ode à Cassandre:."

62 Ever since Cristine de Pisan took up her stand for women, opinions have varied about Jean de Meun almost as much as any other author in the history of literature. Gerson called his work a "chaos" and a "tour de Babel" while over five hundred years later Faral called it a "fatras et pot pourri". (Roman de la Rose et la Pensée Française au XIIIe siècle, pp. 452 and 441) He has been criticized both for his attitude towards women and sex, his exaltation of an unbridled amour-désir, as well as for the disjointed nature of his lengthy poem. He has been often praised, on the other hand, as being an "esprit nouveau", (Chailley, Histoire Musicale du Moyen Age, p. 196) breaking away from a perhaps too refined courtly idealism, and for putting to use an encyclopedic knowledge. In addition he is capable of writing quite lyrically beautiful pages, such as those dealing with his Paradise garden.

63 Roman de la Rose, vv. 20088-96.

64 Ibid., vv. 20065-84.

65 Rabelais, line 1, chap. LIV.

66 Roman de la Rose, vv. 20103-04.

67 Ibid., v. 20110.

68 Ibid., vv. 20265-67.

69 As previously mentioned the Mary Garden in iconography was almost always depicted as circular to signify the perfection of the Madonna as well as to simplify the laws of perspective as far as the artist was concerned.

70 Roman de la Rose, vv. 19094-109.

71 Ibid., vv. 20282-83.

72 Ibid., vv. 20284-20300.

73 Ibid., vv. 19970-20001.

74 Ibid., vv. 19919-50.

75 Ibid., vv. 20353-67.

76 Sadi, p. 47, note 101.

77 Migne P. L., vol. 112, cols 929-930.

78 Roman de la Rose, vv. 20441-44.

79 Ibid., v. 20447.

80 Ibid., vv. 20449-66.

81 Ibid., v. 20493.

82 Queste, p. 182.

- 83 Roman de la Rose, vv. 20479-86.
- 84 Ibid., vv. 20467-78.
- 85 Medieval English Verse, pp. 223-24. Forgetfulness is also associated with a "fall" as in Le Livre d'Artus in the episode of the Garden of the Apple of Forgetfulness. (Sommer, vol. 7, pp. 295-319)
- 86 Roman de la Rose, vv. 20504-05. Is this purely rhetorical? Or does it mean that the garden knows the seasons and bad weather?
- 87 In Yvain Laudine, at her coronation, wore a carbuncle in her hair.
- 88 Faral, Recherches sur les Sources Latines des Contes et Romans Courtois au Moyen Age, p. 354.
- 89 Pèlerinage de Charlemagne, v. 424.
- 90 Floire et Blancheflor, vv. 1633-46.
- 91 Ibid., vv. 476-81.
- 92 Compare Medieval English Verse, No. 88.
- 93 Rabanus Maurus, Migne P. L., vol. 112, col. 887.
- 94 Roman de la Rose, v. 19912.
- 95 Methodius, p. 40.
- 96 Sommer, vol. 7, p. 94.
- 97 Ibid., vol. 4, p. 262.
- 98 Le Bel Inconnu, vv. 1497-1516.
- 99 Ibid., vv. 1687-90.
- 100 Ibid., vv. 1731-35.
- 101 Ibid., vv. 1718-19.
- 102 Le Mariage des sept Arts, vv. 23-27.
- 103 Ibid., vv. 1-8.
- 104 Ibid., vv. 11-12.
- 105 In the Chanson de Roland and other epic poetry the "feudsteul" makes its appearance, but this is more in the nature of a portable throne.
- 106 Le Mariage des sept Arts, vv. 37-42.
- 107 Ibid., v. 268.
- 108 Ibid., v. 376.
- 109 Ibid., vv. 354-55.
- 110 The Art of Courtly Love, chap. VIII.

- 111 Ibid., p. 179.
- 112 Ibid., p. 181.
- 113 Andreas Capellanus, pp. 73-81.
- 114 Ibid., p. 79.
- 115 Quoted Faral, Recherches sur les Sources Latines des Contes et Romans Courtois du Moyen Age, p. 251 ff.
- 116 Ibid., Version 1, vv. 21-32.
- 117 Ibid., vv. 167-178.
- 118 Ibid., vv. 187-204. In medieval literature note is often made of the healing powers of sound as well as of scent.
- 119 Faral, Recherches sur les Sources Latines des Contes et Romans Courtois du Moyen Age, p. 239.
- 120 Ibid., Version 2, vv. 348-412.
- 121 Gaston Paris, Les Origines de la Poésie lyrique en France, Journal des Savants 1891, p. 676.
- 122 Nykl, p. 379.
- 123 For instance G. Paris, Journal des Savants 1892, p. 424 ff.
- 124 Jongleurs et Troubadours Gascons, p. 1.
- 125 Medieval English Verse, p. 181.
- 126 Nigel Hawks, "Preparing the world for a new Ice Age", The Age, 16/2/79.
- 127 Waddell, Medieval Latin Lyrics, from The "Carmina Burina".
- 128 Zumthor, Essai de poétique médiévale, p. 94.
- 129 Zumthor, Essai de poétique médiévale, p. 94.
- 130 Roman de la Rose, vv. 15655-63.
- 131 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., v. 2594.
- 132 Ibid., First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., v. 4037.
- 133 Ibid., First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 2549-74.
- 134 Ibid., Second Continuation, ms. E., vv. 29283-84.
- 135 Sommer, vol. 2, pp. 334; 350-51.
- 136 The Art of Courtly Love, pp. 105-06.
- 137 Sommer, vol. 3, p. 201.
- 138 In the "Chastel d'Amours" of the thirteenth century, all but nobles are excluded:

Lainz non venon ni van
 merchandier ni negosan (...)
 mas sol ço qu'es de gran ran.
 (Bartsch, col. 299)

- 139 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 4036-4229.
- 140 Bartsch, col. 107.
- 141 Tristan, v. 1321.
- 142 Le Bel Inconnu, vv. 594-96.
- 143 *Ibid.*, v. 628.
- 144 Sommer, vol. 7, pp. 184-85.
- 145 *Ibid.*, p. 190.
- 146 *Ibid.*, p. 190.
- 147 C. O. F. P., v. 8735 ff.
- 148 Galeran, v. 5271 ff. Spring garden openings in Occitan poetry are being studied by M. Bec of Poitiers, but his article has yet to be published.
- 149 Mort Artu, p. 65.
- 150 *Ibid.*, p. 251.
- 151 Sommer, vol. 6, part 2, p. 338.
- 152 Mort Artu, p. 213.
- 153 Roman de la Rose, vv. 130-31.
- 154 *Ibid.*, v. 49.
- 155 *Ibid.*, v. 103 and v. 496 "forment me pris a dementer".

CHAPTER 5 THE GARDEN OF LOVE - PART 2.

¹ For a discussion of this see A. L. C. Brown "The Knight of the Lion", p. 96 and "Iwain", p. 29 etc.

² Quoted S. M. Robertson, p. 46.

³ See Brown, "Iwain", p. 57. In modern Irish Marchen this comes to be America. For this information I am indebted to Dr. Ann Trindade.

⁴ Rom. XXV, 1896. p. 267. The "perilous and deep" river appears in La Mule sans Frein, (vv. 392-400), as a "fleuns au deable" in the Chevalier de la Charette, (v. 777) whilst in Erec et Enide (v. 5326) a water "roide et bruianz comme tanpeste" isolates Brandiganz.

⁵ Boyce, pp. 117, 136, 224, 237, and Molé, p. 260. In medieval literature water could signify Hell. In the Queste, p. 92 Perceval is on a black horse before great waters at night. The horse wants to leap with him into the water. It is the devil. Perceval crosses himself and the horse leaps alone to its destruction. At this the waters turn in many places to fire like a hellish cauldron.

⁶ Loomis, Arthurain Literature in the Middle Ages, p. 457.

⁷ Chevalier de la Charette, v. 668 ff.

⁸ Sommer, vol. 7, p. 144.

⁹ Deschamps, p. 74.

¹⁰ C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 13099-13108.

¹¹ Ibid., vv. 1199-1205.

¹² C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 25984-26141; 26796-26807.

¹³ La Continuation de Perceval, v. 16935.

¹⁴ Floire et Blancheflor, vv. 1387-90. In Gerbert de Montreuil also, the Grail Castle is isolated by "une riviere grant et lee".

¹⁵ Ibid., vv. 1770-71.

¹⁶ Chrétien, Erec et Enide, v. 2762 ff.

¹⁷ Chrétien, Le Chevalier au Lion, vv. 178-187.

¹⁸ Sommer, vol. 7, pp. 172-175. The crossing of barriers of one sort or another is an integral part of the notion of entering an otherworld. An example of this are the Perilous Passages to the Dolerous Tower where Gauvain is imprisoned by Carados. The road is "moult perilleuse a aler" and there are two equally unattractive ways of access: one is by the "ual dont nus ne revient", the other by the chapel of Morgain. (Sommer, vol. 4, p. 108) Knights are imprisoned in this "Val sans Retour" who can only be delivered by one "loiaus envers amors". Now Lancelot is repeatedly called "le plus loial de tous les amans" (Sommer, vol. 4, p. 125) and the associations of this land to Gorre are clear: only the peerless lover can terminate the enchantments of this place akin to the land of the dead.

Galeshin enters the valley, fights dragons, but has to cross "vne aigue grande et parfonde" via a bridge of a single plank. Here he comes to grief and is knocked into the water. (Sommer, vol. 4, p. 117) Lancelot in this same valley meets with better fortune and fights with knights in a castle. One flees into a garden ("garding"); crosses an enchanted stream then a further garden to a hall and thence to a pavillion where Morgain is sleeping. There Lancelot kills him and Morgain curses the loyalty of the lover. The elements are the crossing of a cosmic barrier a chase through a watered courtyard garden and then a death: love is a passport that knows no boundaries and triumphs over enchantments.

¹⁹ Rabanus Maurus, "De Paradiso", Migne P. L. vol. III, col. 334, cap. iii. An almost identical description is found in Isidore of Seville, "De Asia", Etymologiarum sive Originum XIV, iii, 2.

²⁰ The Mabinogion, p. 259.

²¹ Sommer, vol. 7, pp. 312-19 and p. 295.

²² Loomis, Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes, p. 113.

²³ Sommer, vol. 4, pp. 117-23. Water barriers are frequently made more difficult to cross by being defended. (eg. C. O. F. P., ms. E, vv. 21982-94 and Renaut de Beaujeu's Le Bel Inconnu, vv. 322-28) See also appendix, p. 225 "apples".

²⁴ The "wall of air" motif is also found in Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut, (oeuvre renouvelée par Joseph Bédier, p. 99) with Celtic associations. "N'est-ce pas ici le verger merveilleux dont parlent les lais de harpe: une muraille d'air l'enclot de toutes parts: (...) et nulle force ennemie ne peut briser la muraille d'air."

²⁵ Grimal, Jardins Romains, p. 346.

²⁶ Quoted, P. Piehler, The Visionary Landscape, p. 100.

²⁷ Quoted, A. Amherst, A History of Gardening in England, p. 17.

²⁸ Capitulare de Villis, No. 49, Migne P. L., vol. 97, col. 355.

²⁹ De bestiis et aliis rebus, lib. IV, cap. XIII, "De his quibus prima littera ets 'O'". Migne P. L., vol. 177 col. 154.

³⁰ Introduzione all Terza Giornata. Dal Decameron e dalle Opere Minori.

³¹ Crescenzi, lib. 8, cap. III. Crescenzi appears to unite characteristics of Arab gardens with a description based on the chapter "de Plantatione Viridariorum" of the Historiae Naturalis of Albert the Great. In Crescenzi the Arab influence is even more marked when he deals with questions of irrigation, especially in lib. 1, cap. VIII.

³² de Re Rustica, vv. 27-28.

³³ Jaufre, vv. 3041; 3174; 3049.

³⁴ The Art of Courtly Love, p. 78.

³⁵ Roman de la Rose, vv. 48; 53; 95.

³⁶ A suggestion of C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love, p. 126.

³⁷ C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., v. 4551.

- 38 Medieval English Verse, stanzas 25, 27, 97, 98 for instance.
- 39 Roman de la Rose, v. 468.
- 40 Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, chap. IV.
- 41 The Art of Courtly Love, Book 1, chap. XI, "The Love of Peasants", pp. 149-150.
- 42 La Vie Paysanne, p. 74.
- 43 Faral, p. 288.
- 44 Paris, p. 421, note 8, "Vos le lairés, vilain, le baler, le joer. Mais nos le lairons mie."
- 45 Roman de la Rose, v. 134.
- 46 Piehler, p. 102. A medieval belief supported by Jean de Vitry was that Paradise was defended by dragons, serpents and other hideous creatures; in fact these beasts symbolized chaos and all that was excluded from Paradise. (Graf, p. 2) They have an analogous function to Guillaume's figures. Worth noting too, is that every example of Paradise has its own rules of exclusivity. In general death has no power there, and by extension often the sick and the maimed cannot enter. (eg. the Muslim Paradise) Now, the figures that Guillaume represents are "sickness" against the code of youthful, frivolous love.
- 47 The Golden Ass, lib. V, p. 201.
- 48 Erotici Scriptores Graeci, pp. 162-175. The garden unites elements of the Greek tradition of the "locus amoenus" with other features that seem of Persian origin. The author compares his garden to that of Alcinous and to the Elysian Fields. So it is a Garden of Delight but it also incorporates a fountain of Persian influence. What makes the description different is that it appears to be based on a direct observation of plants which could all have grown at Byzantium: "The violet emerges from its leaves and graces the view with its perfume. Of the roses one peeps out of its calyx, another is just swelling, another has burst open and there are others full-blown on the ground." (trans. Dr. S. J. Scott) Like the garden of Guillaume, that of Eumathios Macrembolites is a Garden of Love.
- 49 Pearsall and Salter, Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World, p. 84.
- 50 Sensual love is only rarely assimilated to a Christian ethic: Dante in the Vitae Nuova seems to arrive at a fusion between his sensual and religious experiences, but he accomplishes this only at a later date when Beatrice is dead and when he can cover his sensations, originally of a physical nature, with a veil of transcendence.
- 51 Roman de la Rose, vv. 1297-98.
- 52 See Mircea Eliade, Mythes, Rêves et Mystères, chap. IV; also H.R. Patch, The Otherworld according to Descriptions in Medieval Literature, and "Medieval Descriptions of the Otherworld", P. M. L. A. vol. 33, 1918, pp. 601-642.
- 53 Roman de la Rose, vv. 519-21.
- 54 H. R. Patch, The Otherworld according to Descriptions in Medieval Literature, p. 12.
- 55 La Continuation de Perceval, vv. 103-286.

- 56 Huon de Bordeaux, vv. 5445-5567.
- 57 Sommer, vol. 2, pp. 402-03.
- 58 There seems some confusion in this episode between the fathering of Lancelot and Hector.
- 59 Roman de la Rose, v. 514.
- 60 Rabanus Maurus, Migne P. L. vol. 112, col. 1031.
- 61 Sommer, vol. 1, pp. 148-49.
- 62 See Capellanus, The Art of Courtly Love, Book 1, chap. 9, "The Love of Peasants".
- 63 Roman de la Rose, vv. 524 and 555.
- 64 John V. Fleming (The Roman de la Rose, p. 75) suggests such a comparison.
- 65 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 20010-47.
- 66 Roman de la Rose, v. 2958.
- 67 Ibid., v. 2960.
- 68 Jaufre, vv. 3162-63. For the description of the garden, see vv. 3040-58 and vv. ~~3162-78~~.
- 69 A. Micha, "Lancelot au verger de Corbenic", vv. 44-45. M.A. 69, 1963.
- 70 Troilus and Criseyde, Book II, v. 813. Also Book II, vv. 1116-17: "With that they wenten arm in arm y-fere / In-to the gardin from the chaumbre down."
- 71 Roman de la Rose, vv. 1321-23.
- 72 See appendix, p. 289 "square".
- 73 The Art of Courtly Love, p. 73.
- 74 See Loomis, Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes, p. 88 and Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, p. 458; also Brown "Iwain", p. 137.
- 75 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., v. 2233 ff.; v. 4411 ff; Second Continuation, ms. E, v. 24530 ff.
- 76 Ibid., First Continuation, ms. E, v. 7519.
- 77 Queste, pp. 47 and 55.
- 78 La Continuation de Perceval, vv. 2623-24.
- 79 Sommer, vol. 4, p. 62. See also p. 233 for the joust between the Knights of the Chastel as Dames and those of the Chastel as Puceles.
- 80 Sommer, vol. 6, part 2, p. 325.
- 81 Cligès, v. 5555 ff.
- 82 Floire et Blancheflor, v. 1623 ff.

- 83 Aucassin et Nicolette 4 : p. 5. Notice that the tower is: "devers un jardin".
- 84 See chap. 1, p. 31, "mount".
- 85 Claudien, De Nuptiis Honorii et Mariae, p. 247. Claudien sums up many of the motifs of the "locus amoenus"; birds, flowers, eternal Springtime, a zephyr and scent. What is of interest here is the inaccessibility of Venus' home. Surrounded by water, the mountain is "invis humano gressu" (v. 50) and the flowery plateau is surrounded by a golden hedge: "hunc aurea saepes / circuit et fulvo defendit prata metallo". (vv. 56-57) Thus the barrier is a triple one.
- 86 See Revelations 21 : 10 and Sommer, vol. 1, p. 153. H. R. Patch, "Some Elements in Medieval Descriptions of the Otherworld", pp. 606-619, gives examples of the mountain in medieval literature, a motif which he believes stems from Oriental mythology.
- 87 Graf, p. 21.
- 88 Tristan, vv. 4314-4321. Here, as in Roman gardens, the wild and the tame come together. However the significance is different: in Roman gardens the wildness is "willed", here, however, it appears to signify that the "wild" asserts itself in a disciplined garden. It is perhaps a measure of passion let loose.
- 89 Ibid., vv. 4323-26.
- 90 Sommer, vol. 3, pp. 257-65.
- 91 Ibid., p. 410.
- 92 Ibid., vol. 5, p. 178.
- 93 Le Bel Inconnu, vv. 1908-16.
- 94 White in the West is traditionally the colour of purity and joy, the equivalent of red in the East. To have white hands was also, obviously, a sign of a leisured life similar to a modern day suntan.
- 95 For the garden description, Le Bel Inconnu, vv. 4289-4340.
- 96 Ibid., vv. 4331-32.
- 97 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 451.
- 98 Ibid., p. 451. It is worth remembering that "fleuretes" is the source of the English "flirt".
- 99 Ibid., p. 451.
- 100 Mort Artu, pp. 19-21.
- 101 Sommer, vol. 3, p. 257 ff.
- 102 Ami et Amile, laisse 36.
- 103 Sommer, vol. 3, p. 270.
- 104 Ibid., vol. 5, p. 404.

- 105 See Zumthor, Essai de poétique médiévale, pp. 382-83.
- 106 See above chap. 3, p. 66.
- 107 In the Wife of Bath there is mention of "Blessing halles, chambres, kitchines and boures".
- 108 Sommer, vol. 1, p. 217.
- 109 For a discussion of this see Adam Le Bossu Jeu de la Feuillé, intro. pp. IX-X.
- 110 There are many examples, for instance: Wace, Le Roman de Brut, vv. 3321-22; Sommer, vol. 3, p. 135; Sommer, vol. 6, p. 127.
- 111 Sommer, vol. 3, p. 176.
- 112 C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., v. 2594 ff.; mss. A.S.P., v. 1684 ff.
- 113 The strewing of a bower or room was not only a necessity of hygiene but it introduced into a dwelling a picturesque garden element. This is the impact in the episode of the Demoisele de Lis and also in the description of Alardin's wonderful tent fresh with "flors" and "joncs". (C. O. F. P., v. 4141)
- 114 Fox, A Literary History of France, p. 184.
- 115 Chansons satiriques et baciques, no. XXXVIII.
- 116 Bartsch, col. 33,
- 117 Ibid., col. 150.
- 118 Ibid., col. 59. There appears to be Eastern influence in the mention of bed hangings.
- 119 Matthews, Mazes and Labyrinths, pp. 164-165.
- 120 Much Ado About Nothing, III, i.
- 121 Sommer, vol. 2, p. 209.
- 122 Migne P. L., vol. 112, col. 863.
- 123 See above chap. 2, p. 54 and note 145 for some of the implications of a circle.
- 124 Sommer, vol. 2, p. 210.
- 125 Ibid., p. 210.
- 126 Ibid., p. 382.
- 127 Exodus 24 : 4.
- 128 Sommer, vol. 3, p. 256.
- 129 Ibid., p. 251.
- 130 Loomis, Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, pp. 129 and 471.

- 131 Roman de la Rose, v. 3654.
- 132 Sommer, vol. 4, pp. 108-112, where the Castle of Darkness represents the sin of "luxuria" committed by a couple in church on Ash Wednesday: Chrétien de Troyes Erec et Enide, where the maiden of "Joie de la Cort" lies in the shade.
- 133 Sommer, vol. 3, p. 452.
- 134 Ibid., p. 461.
- 135 Erec et Enide, vv. 5513-42.
- 136 The "Joie de la Cort" episode in Erec and the Horn of Bran.
- 137 Erec et Enide, vv. 5445-93.
- 138 Ibid., vv. 5755-56.
- 139 Philpot, "Un épisode d'Erec et Enide", p. 260. The motif of spikes is common to medieval literature. In Cligès at the siege of Guinesore, the traitors against Arthur put "pix aguz" (v. 1235) on the castle walls. It is unspecified whether this was a form of defence to be used for empaling the vanquished. There is a closer resemblance to Erec in Le Livre d'Artus where Maduc le Noir lures knights to his castle with hospitality and good food; when his visitors are unarmed he slaughters them and puts their heads on spikes. Renaut de Beaujeu's Le Bel Inconnu has the same motif: the Castle of the Pucele as Blances Mains, like the garden in Erec, is virtually an island joined to land, as were some crusading castles, by a causeway and then a bridge. (vv. 1952-54) Le Bel Inconnu cannot gain admission to the castle unless he fights Maugiers le Gris. Maugiers, like Mabonograin, takes on all comers and puts the heads of the dead on spikes. (vv. 1995-2000) These spikes, like those of the garden of "Joie de la Cort" are at the perimeter of his domain, beyond the joust-yard and at the head of the bridge. (v. 2000) In L'Atre Périlleux the appendix gives an account of the episode of the girl immersed naked in a "noire fontaine obscure" (v. 191) for having claimed that the Knights of the Round Table are more valiant even than her lover, Brun sans Pietié, King of the Red City. She is surrounded by heads on stakes except for one stake that has neither head nor helmet (v. 240), but, like in Erec, seems prepared in readiness for the next challenger. Gauvain, delivers the maiden and after a long combat (some 300 lines) overcomes Brun.
- 140 Mircea Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 30.
- 141 Pauphilet, p. 146.
- 142 Loomis, Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, p. 196.
- 143 Bayrav, Symbolisme Médiévale, p. 83.
- 144 Le Bel Inconnu, vv. 1908 and 1913.
- 145 Ibid., v. 2169.
- 146 C. O. F. P. ms. E, v. 3629.
- 147 Ibid., v. 3623.
- 148 Cligès, vv. 6259-67.
- 149 Ibid., v. 6274.
- 150 Ibid., vv. 6273 and 6280.

- 151 Ibid., v. 6652.
- 152 Bartsch, cols. 283-90.
- 153 Ibid., col. 285.
- 154 Ibid., col. 288.
- 155 Ibid., col. 288.
- 156 Ibid., col. 290.
- 157 Merchant's Tale, v. 2235.
- 158 Roman de la Rose, vv. 1719-26.
- 159 Galeran, vv. 6144-45.
- 160 Sommer, vol. 4, pp. 151-55.
- 161 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 265.
- 162 Sommer, vol. 3, pp. 259-65.
- 163 Sommer, vol. 5, pp. 88-96.
- 164 Ibid., pp. 222-23.
- 165 Ibid., pp. 121-23.
- 166 Three represents the stages of the human life-span; (Methodius, pp. 81-83) the hypostasis of God; the theological virtues. It was the first of the perfect numbers in number symbolism: dating from Greek times it was important to Pythagoras and until the thirteenth century ternary rhythm was called "perfection" whereas binary was "imperfection". During the period under consideration the implication of three or its multiples was widely accepted. The dying Ban looks heavenwards, confesses and laments his sins, then plucks three blades, ("paus"), of grass and falls dead, his heart burst. Similarly in the episode of the "Castle des Mares" (Sommer, vol. 2, p. 403) the horn is blown three times before Arthur's knights gain access to the castle complex. Rabanus Maurus has his gloss of three as "species poenitentiae". (Migne P. L., vol. 112, col. 1070) Four, of course, are the elements, the material world and also the cardinal virtues, the gospels and the symbol of the Celestial Jerusalem.
- 167 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 123.
- 168 See Arthur Michel, "The Earliest Dance Manuals".
- 169 Sommer, vol. 5, p. 123.
- 170 Ibid., p. 123.
- 171 Ibid., p. 124.
- 172 The term is of this century, but the phenomenon is not new.
- 173 Sommer, vol. 6, p. 149.
- 174 Floire et Blancheflor, vv. 1803 and 1825. For the garden description, vv. 1730-1851.

175 Ibid., v. 1832, cf. C. O. F. P., on the harp that distinguishes a maiden from a woman, First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 4116-26.

176 C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 3003-05.

177 For a discussion of this see Faral, Recherches sur les Sources Latines des Contes et Romans Courtois du Moyen Age, p. 351.

178 Floire et Blancheflor, v. 1806.

179 Roman de la Rose, v. 6404.

180 Ibid., v. 5890.

181 Ibid., vv. 5906-6048.

182 Roman de la Rose, vv. 8908-30.

183 Bucolics III, vv. 92-93.

184 Roman de la Rose, vv. 16559-62.

185 Ibid., vv. 15655-63.

186 Ibid., vv. 7595-602.

187 Ibid., v. 13454.

188 Ibid., v. 14514.

189 Ibid., v. 12488.

190 Ibid., v. 14600.

191 Ibid., v. 15388.

192 Ibid., vv. 15400-21.

193 Ibid., v. 4348.

194 Ibid., vv. 4568-73.

195 Ibid., vv. 7076-88.

196 Ibid., v. 7405.

197 Ibid., v. 8911.

ALMOND

The almond was cultivated in all mediterranean countries from Roman times. It was valued not only for its blossom but was believed to prevent intoxication. This led to the habit of eating almonds during dinner.¹ Pliny also says that almond oil is good for the skin and improves the complexion.² In the middle ages almonds were an important article of commerce and consumed on an enormous scale. It is mentioned in the Capitulare of Charlemagne as one of the trees to be planted in imperial villas.³ In Floire et Blancheflor it is one of the exotic fruits of Babylon and grows in the Emir's garden.⁴

The almond is also important in medicine: in Le Livre d'Artus Grex,⁵ after an unsuccessful attempt to rid the country of the Medusa-like "laide semblance", is utterly exhausted. Eventually he is found lying in the forest and taken to la Sage Dame where he is forcibly resuscitated with an almond potion: "et la dame le fist desarmer & despoillier & li oint les temples dun molt precieus oignement, & li desserrèrent les denz a un costel & li avalerent un chaudel damandes u cors". In the C. O. F. P. in the episode "la grant honte del vergier" the sick knight in his tent is drinking a medicine of almond milk when disturbed by Guerrhés.⁶

¹ Grieve, p. 21.

² Pliny, N.H., XXIII XLII, 85.

³ Capitulare, no. 70.

⁴ Floire et Blancheflor, vv. 1784 and 1502.

⁵ Sommer, vol. 7, p. 154.

⁶ C.O.F.P., vv. 14518 - 634 for this episode.

APPLE

The apple is hallowed both by myth and history. Until recently some Swiss-German orchards had an apple, Campaner, first cultivated in Neolithic times. Apples in the West and date palms in the East are possibly earlier in cultivation than cereals.¹ They figure in Pompeian gardens and Pliny mentions twenty-two varieties extensively grown in Europe. It is thus natural that they are also listed in Charlemagne's Capitulare de Villis and in the cemetery garden of St. Gall. Their symbolism in the St. Gall plan is particularly apt, for in the East, whilst the evergreen cypress stood for immortality, fruit trees with their spring blossoms represented the renewal of life and rebirth. The combination of evergreen and blossoming trees in Persian carpets echoes actual gardens.²

The apple is also a symbol of fertility. In Byzantium upon the coronation of a new Empress in the tenth century the waiting women who accompanied her carried red apples.³ Possibly linked to the association of fertility, the apple is the tree par excellence of the otherworld from Genesis and Celtic legend onward. In the legends of Myrddin (Merlin) the apple tree is associated with his earlier happiness before his madness. "A fair, wanton maid, one slender and queenly" used to sit at the foot of an apple tree and there Merlin did battle for the satisfaction of the maiden. The apple tree has a particular power that hides it from the men of Rhydderch. Possibly in the original legend, Myrddin took refuge in a tree through levitation⁴, like

¹ Hyams, p. 2.

² Crowe, p. 16.

³ Ellis Davidson, p. 201.

⁴ cf. Continuation p. 31 where a child holding an apple vanishes up a tree and into thin air. The Fisher King later gives to this episode a "senefience".

Suibne, to escape capture. At first perhaps he hid himself amongst the branches, then later the tree developed the quality of invisibility and was a source of sustenance for the wild man. When this legend became a subject for poetry, an address to the tree was used as the opening phrase for each verse: "Sweet apple tree with gentle flowers / Which grows hidden in the woodlands".⁵

The apple is a ubiquitous motif of an otherworld. It is associated not only with Eden in Gerbert de Montreuil where the Hermit King specifies that the forbidden fruit was an apple but also in Huon le Roi where "P" stands for "pomme" by which Paradise was lost. In Methodius, also, it is the Tree of Life from Eden. It is the fruit of the Garden of Forgetfulness in the Livre d'Arbus where the knights who enter the Garden eat of the fruit and forget their prowess. In Connla the Fair, Connla lives for a month on an apple given him by a marvellously beautiful woman. It remained untouched no matter how much he eats of it. (See Brown, "Ivain", p. 29.)

As a wood it was used for spits and sword hilts as the ash was also used. However, despite its mundane usages, its chief significance was as a tree of the otherworld.

⁵ Loomis, Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, pp. 28 and 23. Its importance as a fruit tree appears during the episode where Lancelot and Lionel rest under an apple tree during the heat of the day. There Lancelot is captured by the enchantments of Morgain and awakes a prisoner in her castle. (Sommer, vol. 5, pp. 88 - 92.) Here danger resides in rest beneath an apple tree.

ASH

The shapely ash is a fitting emblem for the heroine of Jean Renart's Galeran.¹ The perfection of the tree anticipates the flowering of Fresne as she matures. Pliny calls the ash the most productive of all trees, "copiosissima", and says it is an antidote to that symbol of evil, the serpent, a creature that even avoids the shadow of an ash and runs into a fire rather than touch its leaves.² So, indirectly, the appellation "Fresne" denotes the antithesis to evil.

¹ Jean Renart, Galeran, vv. 872-75.

² Pliny, N.H., XVI, XXIV, 62.

CYPRESS

Crescenzi recommends planting the cypress in his gardens. The cypress is a supremely suitable ornament to the garden and is evocative of the Orient. It was the tree most favoured by Eastern poets, and of it Sadi writes: "They asked a philosopher, Why, when God Most High had created so many fruitful trees, the cypress alone was called free, which bore no fruit? and what was the meaning of this? He replied 'Every tree has its appointed time and season, so that, during the said season it flourishes; and when it is past, it droops. But the cypress is not exposed to either of these vicissitudes, and is at all times fresh and green; and this is the condition of the free'".¹

¹ Sadi, The Rose Garden, ed. E. B. Eastwick, Maxim CV, p. 241.

EBONY

Ebony is one of the four trees that shade the tomb of Blancheflor and the author affirms that it cannot be destroyed by fire.¹ Its indestructibility reflects the enduring love that exists between the children. The notion that ebony is virtually imperishable is found also in Pliny. He says it is the closest grained of all the woods,² that it does not experience age or decay,³ and although he does not state that it will not burn, he affirms that it does not give forth any flame.⁴ He also stresses its value as a timber saying that the Ethiopians used to pay tribute to the Persians gold, ivory and one hundred logs of ebony every three years.⁵ In medieval literature, it is rarely mentioned, however in the C. O. F. P., ms. L, gives the "inbenus" as one of the four sorts of trees that arch over the causeway linking the Grail Castle to the land.⁶ The other trees given in this and other manuscripts are all common in literary descriptions; the cypress, the laurel, the olive etc. Only the fabled "ebenus" stands out to give lustre and a certain mystique to the list.

¹ Floire et Blancheflor, v. 605.

² Pliny, N.H., XVI, 204.

³ Ibid., XVI, 212.

⁴ Ibid., XII, 20.

⁵ Ibid., XII, 17.

⁶ C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. L, vv. 7119-20.

HORNBEAM

The "charme" is one of the trees mentioned in the first part of the Roman de la Rose but it is also used in isolation to suggest a garden. Shortly before Perceval's final visit to the Grail Castle, he visits Arthur's court. Before the palace door at the parting of the ways that lead to different lands stand two hornbeams in place of the more usual pine.¹ In the C. O. F. P. Carlion has beside it a wood of hornbeams for a tournament.² In the same book, Gauvain, after failing the sword test at the Grail Castle, awakes next morning far away by an enclosed garden with his horse hitched to a hornbeam.³ In the Continuation the naming of two hornbeams on the flowery mead before the monastery is sufficient to suggest a complete garden.⁴ These trees were also used in royal garden parks: Carlion has beyond it a wood of "carmes" where the knights spread carpets and arm themselves, and in L'Atre Perilleux the tree borders the flowery mead for the watchers at a tourney stand beneath the shade of hornbeams, alders and elms.

¹ Continuation, vv. 16710-12.

² C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 14330-34.

³ Ibid., mss. T.V.D., vv. 1493-96.

⁴ Continuation, vv. 2226-27. Sometimes an aspen takes the place of the hornbeam or pine. In the Continuation Perceval, searching for the Grail Castle, is befriended by a "preudom" who leads him to his manor. There the men dismount beneath an aspen in the courtyard. (v. 16078).

LABURNUM

In Ami et Amile the "aubors" is associated with the traitor Hardre'. This appears to be the laburnum, *Cytisus laburnum*, and its use is symbolic. A native of the Alps, it is now much prized for its drooping sprays of bright yellow flowers. It was known to Pliny as a prop for vines¹ and he also mentions that it dislikes water and that bees will not touch its flower.² This last point is worthy of note for it may offer a possible clue as to the symbolism (now lost to us) of the laburnum. For this reason let us briefly consider the bee.

Since ancient times its industry and organization have been widely esteemed. Varro admired the perfection of the hive structure, hexagonal cells in a circular figure that give the largest possible amount of space.³ Virgil wrote the following:

"Esse apibus partem divinae mentis et haustus
Aetherios dixera: deum manque ire per omnes
Terrasque, tractusque maris caelumque profundum".⁴

This notion that bees possess part of the soul of the universe may be Pythagorean. Whatever the case, it emphasizes the importance given to this fascinating insect. In medieval times also the bee was not forgotten. In the anonymous poem "Quant li malos bruit"⁵ the hum of the bees takes the place of the more common birdsong motif with all its connotations. In "Vestiunt Silve" the bee is seen as the very type of chastity and is likened

¹ N.H., XVII, 174.

² Ibid., XVI, 76.

³ Varro, III, XIII, II.

⁴ Georgics IV, 220 - 222. ("Some have said that bees possess a share of the divine mind, and draw the breath of heaven; for they think that the deity moves through all lands and spaces of the sea, and deep of heaven".) Trans. James Lonsdale and Samuel Lee.

⁵ Chansons satiriques et bachiques, p. 2.

to the Virgin:

Nulla inter aves similis est api
 qui talem gerit tipum castitatis
 nisi Maria, ...¹

Rabanus Maurus, amongst the other meanings he gives to the bee, says it stands for the humble.²

From the above it would appear that throughout the centuries the bee has been admired, whether for itself or for its organization and industry, or on an allegorical level for what it was seen to represent. Therefore it is possible, as a hypoth^ēsis, to put forward the idea that a tree such as the laburnum, despite its elegant flowers, could be regarded as sterile or malevolent because of its inhospitality to the bee family. This notion gains support from a Ballade of Machaut, where the colour yellow, that of the flowers of the laburnum, stands for falsehood.³

¹ Waddell, Medieval Latin Lyrics, p. 142.

² Migne, P.L., vol. 112, col. 859.

³ Zumthor, Essai de poétique médiévale, p. 273.

LAUREL

In the Chanson de Roland Charlemagne holds his council "suz un laurier ki est enmi un camp".¹ It is a tree appropriate to the epic style, a tree of ancient symbolism. In Greece it was associated with Apollo,² that is with poetry, and the priestess of Apollo had to assimilate the benevolent spirit of the plant, that is of Daphne prophetess of Mother Earth, before the priestess herself could prophesise.³ In Rome it was linked to the Hellenic cult for the first kings of Rome sent gifts to the laurel of Parnassus.⁴ It was used for the crowns of poets or heroes. In Statius⁵ a crown of laurel intertwined with myrtle symbolized love poetry.

The laurel has a place of honour in the cemetery garden of St. Gall. It would symbolize immortality because it is an evergreen, and "rebirth" since although it is not excessively long-lived, it puts out new shoots from its roots.⁶ Also, like the olive, it is associated with peace⁷ and also with rites of purification.⁸ But above all its connotations are those of triumph: "Laurus triumphis proprie dicitur", Pliny says,⁹ in this case triumph over death. Laurel leaves were also used as triumphal wreaths by

¹ Chanson de Roland, v. 2651.

² Pliny, N. H., XII, 3.

³ Hauteceur, N. H., p. 35.

⁴ Ibid., p. 43.

⁵ Statius, Silvarum, I, 99.

⁶ Pliny, N. H., XVI, 239.

⁷ Ibid., XV, 133. Branches of it were carried as tokens of armistice.

⁸ Ibid., XV, 135.

⁹ Ibid., XV, 126.

Marcus Crassus to celebrate his victory over Spartacus and the runaway slaves, and by the winners at Delphi and generals going in triumph to Rome.¹ From "bacca laureus" stem the words "bachelier" and the learned "baccalaureat". In Roman times the laurel was also considered to have apotropaic powers: victors wore the laurel crown also to protect themselves from the evil spells associated with blood being spilt. Even in medieval times it was considered a noble tree,² associated with the pine³ and called an "arbre chier".⁴ During that period it preserved its association with victory: in La Queste del Saint Graal⁵ during the war with Claudas, Bademaguz for his valour and as a "signe de uictoire" is presented with a laurel crown, but he humbly renounces it in favour of his nephew, Patrides. Something of the elements mentioned above is intended by the naming of the laurel in the Chanson de Roland, however the author does not create a fully developed landscape as in the Roman de la Rose but sketches a garden atmosphere with a few symbolic strokes.

¹ Ibid., XV, 127.

² Pietro de'Crescenzi, p. 158.

³ In Ami et Amile together with the pine and a flowery mead it evokes the remains of an old monastery garden, (v. 941).

⁴ In the exotic Emir's garden in Floire et Blancheflor, v. 1784.

⁵ Sommer, vol. 5, p. 337.

OAK.

Oak trees figure extensively in descriptions of the hermitage¹ and acorns are a familiar element in the anchorites' simple meals. The oak tree retains some of its pre-Christian symbolism and is the venerable king of the world of vegetation. The oak, the tree most frequently struck by lightning, is invested with the prestige of the supreme deity in many civilizations.² It is also associated with thunder which is considered holy in many parts of the world. In Rome, as in Greece, it was the tree sacred to Zeus. On the capitol where once was the temple of Jupiter there towered an oak to which Romulus is said to have consecrated the "spolia opima" or rich profit.³ According to Pliny, oak wreaths were symbols both of military valour and of the emperor's clemency.⁴ The tree, widespread throughout Europe, was venerated by the Druids who, it is said, took their name for the oak from the Greeks.⁵ Ovid, amongst others, mentions the oak in describing the Golden Age.⁶ In literary descriptions of the middle ages the oak seems devoid of the evil connotations ascribed to it by such authors as Rabanus Maurus who glosses "quercus" as hardness born of desperation, sterility of mind and the "luxuriosi".⁷ Rather the oak represents the

¹ For instance Continuation, vv. 10181-82 and v. 13970.

² Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions, p. 58. Eliade mentions the oak of Zeus at Dodona, of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill, of Donar near Geismar, the sacred oak of Romowe in Prussia and that of Perun with the Slaves.

³ Hauteceur, Jardins des hommes et des Dieux, p. 43.

⁴ Pliny, N.H., XVI, II, 7.

⁵ Ibid., XVI, XCII, 249.

⁶ Metamorphoses I.

⁷ Migne, P.L., vol. 112, col. 1036.

opposite of sensuality, a simple, Spartan way of life, and it also has a certain religious connotation now viewed in a Christian context.

One of the many examples of this is in the Queste where Lancelot, crossing a "gaste pays" comes upon a crucifix by an ancient chapel.¹ He dismounts by an oak tree and hitches his horse to it. The crumbling chapel is the scene of the miraculous Grail procession, but Lancelot cannot penetrate its mystery. There appear to be moral connotations to the scenery: Lancelot's soul is a wasteland because of his illicit love with Guinevere, while the oak represents fertility in the wilderness, a mute testimony that the Grail is close by. Such an interpretation is not far-fetched for we hear that the moral and knightly dishonour that Lancelot suffers in this episode is the result of his adultery with Guinevere so that he is likened to the withered fig branch of the Gospel.²

¹ Queste, p. 57.

² Ibid., pp. 66-67.

PINE

The importance of the pine in literature cannot be explained by the extent of its cultivation. An analysis of the pollen in bog deposits in France has shown that in 800 B.C. 80% of forest trees were pines, but in the twelfth century the pine amounted to only 8%, its position having been usurped by the oak (50%) and the alder (30%).¹ The unique position of the pine is partly due to the fact that the different species can grow almost everywhere in France, in the mountains as well as on the coast for they can adapt to the most diverse climates and altitudes.² In French literature the pine may harken back to the tradition of Nordic sagas, but more likely it is a survival of tree worship since it was the tree sacred to Attis, Adonis and Osiris, varying forms of the same divinity. In Virgil's time the pine was considered as the fitting adornment of gardens: "Fraxinus in silvis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis, / Populus in fluviis, abies in montibus altis".³ The evocation is immediate: by its very presence a single pine is enough to conjure to the mind a great Italian park. Isidore of Seville gives an additional reason why the pine was so highly esteemed: "Pinus creditur prodesse cunctis quae sub ea seruntur".⁴

In the middle ages the pine kept its position as the most noble of all domestic trees and figures in the Capitulare as one of the trees essential to all imperial villas.⁵ In the Chanson de Roland Charlemagne

¹ Hutchinson & Melville, The Story of Plants..., p. 11.

² Flintoft, Le Jardin dans la première partie du Roman de la Rose, B.A. Honours Thesis, Melbourne Univ., 1976, p. 54, for additional information.

³ Virgil, Bucolics, VII, 65 - 66.

⁴ Etymologiarum sive Originum, Lib. XCII, vii, 32.

⁵ Capitulare de Villis, Migne, P.L., vol. 97, col. 347, No. 70.

retires to a garden and takes council with his barons beneath the shade of a pine, Marsile too, holds court in an orchard beneath a pine, whilst Roland, dying, goes to lie beneath a pine.¹ Its association with royal dignity is born out by the anecdotic short piece La Male Honte where the King of England is found sitting under a pine² and also by Bérout's Tristan where King Marc climbs a pine to spy on the lovers,³ although there Marc is not particularly dignified. In the C. O. F. P. Arthur gives rendez-vous to Guinevere at the crossroads of the four pines. It is a "bel sejour"⁴ surrounded by game forests. There the king commands that his pavilion be erected.⁵ To be seated beneath a pine is, in fact, a classic pose in medieval French literature: "Legir audi stoz eiss un pin" is the opening line of the Chanson de Saint Foy.

As a tree it is unrivalled in Arthurian and courtly literature. Crétien's description of the marvellous pine that shades the magic fountain in the Chevalier au Lion is well known:

c'est la fins,
 que ce estoit li plus biaux pins
 qui onques sor terre creüst.⁶

¹ Chanson de Roland, vv. 114, 500, 2357. See A. Planche "Comme le pin est plus beau que le charme" for possible identification of the species and for other examples of marvellous pines in literature.

² La Male Honte, it is his constant pose throughout the poem.

³ Tristan, vv. 472-74.

⁴ C. O. F. P., First Continuation, Mss. T.V.D., vv. 12703-06.

⁵ Ibid., vv. 12587-89.

⁶ Le Chevalier au Lion, vv. 413-18; also vv. 384-85.

The poet admires the tree not only because it is an evergreen but also because the rain runs off the branches since it cannot penetrate the dense foliage. After the storm, birds flock to it to sing a joyous "servise". Equally famous is the pine that shades the fountain of Narcissus in the Roman de la Rose of Guillaume de Lorris. By its height it dominates the entire garden and it epitomizes to the lover an isolated area of the garden that seems to him more beautiful than any part he has yet seen:

En un trop biau leu arivé,
 En un destor, ou je trové
 Une fontaine soz un pin.¹

Furthermore the poet in affirming that no more beautiful tree has been seen since the time of Charlemagne and Peppin² links this pine to the epic tradition.

It appears as the traditional adornment of the courtyards of both castle and monastery often shading the mounting block or steps. In Ami and Amile, Amile, disguised with the armour of his friend, goes to Blaye and meets Lubias beneath a pine below the castle,³ and, pines, laurels and a flowery mead in an earlier episode are enough to suggest the remains of a monastery garden.⁴ In the C. O. F. P. Gauvain comes upon the Riche Soudoier, lord of the Chastel Orgueillous sitting on an ornamental carpet beneath a pine by the drawbridge to a marvellous castle,⁵ and in the episode of the Magic Chessboard castle we hear of a wonderful pine, such as was never seen before by man, planted within the bailey at the foot of the tower

¹ Roman de la Rose, vv. 1423-25.

² Ibid., vv. 1426-27.

³ Ami et Amile, vv. 1065 and 1121.

⁴ Ibid., v. 941.

⁵ C. O. F. P. First Continuation, vv. 11783-85.

or keep.¹ These are but a few examples of the fact that in literature the naming of that single tree conjures up an entire garden.

In Amadas et Ydoine not only an entire garden is evoked but more particularly, and this is enforced by the progression of the story, an association is made with love and renewal. The pine's association with Adonis is evocative of nature's reproductive powers. Pliny repeatedly shows that all parts of the pine were useful: a concoction made from it was a remedy against cough, colic and thirst,² the pine nut was eaten, the bark used for making baskets,³ the wood was good for roof shingles,⁴ the resin was used as a base for numerous medications,⁵ to flavour wine,⁶ and also to treat receptacles for holding that beverage. It is not surprising that the pine cone became a symbol of fertility and was used as a garden decoration. Charlemagne at Aix had a fountain shaped like a pine cone, (some writers have called it a pineapple, but that fruit was unknown in Europe until a later period,) and even today pine cones can be seen at the entrance to some Italian villas. In the Art of Courtly Love, Capellanus sets the whole discussion as to whether or not love can exist between married people "under the shade of a pine tree of marvellous height and great breadth of spread",⁷ whilst Rabanus Maurus glosses "pinus" as "veritas fidei".⁸ The

¹ C. O. F. P. Second Continuation, ms. A, vv. 9982-84.

² Pliny, N.H., XXIII, 142.

³ Ibid., XVI, 35.

⁴ Ibid., XVI, 42.

⁵ Ibid., XXIV, 28.

⁶ Ibid., XVI, 38.

⁷ The Art of Courtly Love, p. 105.

⁸ Migne, P.L., vol. 112, col. 1029.

association of the pine with love and renewal continued into Renaissance times. Ronsard begins a sonnet: "Je plante en ta faveur cest arbre de Cybelle / Ce pin, ou tes honneurs se liront tous les jours".¹ This is the old association of love and trees; Cybele was the Ops of the Romans, goddess of Plenty, associated with Terra; the link between love and plenty is worth noting. Cybele was also the goddess of Avatar, of renewal and the pine was an essential element in her worship.

In medieval literature the pine, as other trees, is sometimes mentioned with ironic intent. In Ami et Amile, for instance, the devious Lubias is frequently associated with the pine:²

Lubias treuvent soz le pin en la pree,
 Isnellment l'ont au monstier menee;
 Li gentiz hom l'a iluec espousee,
 Grans nous firent li fil as franchises meres.
 Cuens Amis prinst la damme.³

This epitomises the economy of the chanson de geste: in one breath Lubias is seen, led willy nilly to the monastery and married. Here the pine has ironic value: Lubias is as traiterous and unheroic as her uncle and she immediately plots to destroy the young men's friendship.

¹ Poemes, no. LV.

² See Ami et Amile, vv. 1065 and 1121.

³ Ibid., vv. 486-90.

ROSE

The Lover in the Roman de la Rose whilst leaning over the fountain sees in the crystal:

rosiers chargiez de roses
qui estoient en un destor
d'une haie bien clos entor.¹

It is not surprising to find a rose garden in the poem for roses have been prized since antiquity. Herodotus mentions the rose gardens of Midas the semi-legendary king of Phrygia. He cultivated the *R. centifolia* which passed from Phrygia to Thrace and thence to Greece.² The Persians considered the rose as the flower of flowers, and their word for rose, "gul", consequently became the generic term for flower. In Greece and Rome the rose held such prestige that a divine origin was attributed to it. Born from a drop of nectar spilt by the gods entranced at the sight of Aphrodite, the rose later received its colour from the blood of Adonis fatally wounded by the boar.³ In Roman times the rose was associated to the cult of Venus for Aphrodite anointed the dying Hector with oil of roses. As symbol of Venus the rose had a symbolical role at weddings for it was considered the emblem of beauty and love.

Inextricably linked to paganism, the rose was proscribed by the first doctors of the Church, but it soon became integrated to the worship of the faithful. Already in the sixth century St. Benedict planted a garden of

¹ Roman de la Rose, vv. 1614-16.

² Hauteceur, p. 35.

³ Ausonius in Cupid Crucified, vv. 89-91 gives a second reason to explain the redness of the rose:

Roseo venus aurem serto maerentem pulsat
puerum et graviora paventem olli purpureum mulcata
corpore rorum subtilis expressit crebro verbere, quae
iam tincta prius traxit rutilum magis ignea fucum.

According to another legend the rose received its colour when Astarte or Aphrodite, in her haste, tore her flesh on rose thorns. (Hauteceur, p. 15) The common factor to these legends is that the rose is associated to the goddess who is the incarnation of love.

roses at Subiaco and in his famous rule he enjoined the monks not only to read holy texts but also to engage in tending the land. In the seventh century the rose as well as the lily is mentioned in descriptions of the Earthly Paradise. Ultrogothe, wife of the Merovingian king, Childebert enjoyed sitting in her rose garden where the scent of the flowers perfumed the air: "Paradisiacas spargit odore rosas".¹ Strabo, too, in "Hortulus", the poem where he describes with love the plants which people his garden, and where the idyllic mingles with the real, gives a unique place to the rose that represents the blood of martyrs.²

On a more practical level leases from Aix from the later middle ages show the existence of a rose garden within a vegetable patch.³ It is interesting that this garden was to be walked in and also, like that of the Roman de la Rose that it was a garden within a garden. At an earlier date, Ausonius, too, enjoyed walking (early in the morning) in his formal garden where grew a delightful mixture of roses and cabbages, a little in the fashion of our modern suburban plots. It was probably a garden with chequer-board planting for the poet says: "errabam in riguis per quadrua compita in hortis."⁴ The garden that Morgain laid out for the imprisoned Lancelot was also a rose garden, and it must have been planted in the shelter of the castle wall for Lancelot could almost reach the rose

¹ Fortunatus, Migne, vol. 88, col. 226, lib. VI, caput VIII, "De Horto Ultro gothonis Reginae". Fortunatus also wrote a poem "Pro floribus super altare" (M. G. H. auctorum antiquissimorum, vol. IV, Paris prior, Bertolini apud Weidmannos, 1881, editio Nova Lucia Ope Expressa 1961, Recensuit et emendavit Fridericus Leo.)

² "Hortulus ad Grimaldum Monasterii Sancti Galli Abatum", Migne, P.L. vol. 114, col. 1129.

³ Noel Coulet, p. 170.

⁴ Waddell, Medieval Latin Lyrics, p. 26.

of his desire by stretching between the bars of his prison window.¹
These are but a few examples to show that the rose was widely cultivated during the middle ages. In addition the rose represented both religious and secular love and its mention could evoke either the Earthly Paradise or a Paradise of more profane love.

¹ Sommer, vol. 5, p. 222.

SYCAMORE

The sycamore is variously called "sagremors, saigremors, sicamors, chicamor and siccamor" in medieval literature and its symbolism is almost as varied as the spelling.

The tree is probably not the sycamore of England and America, but an entirely different tree, the Egyptian fig tree or fig-mulberry.¹ It spreads its branches widely, making a delightful shade, for which reason it was often planted by the roadside (Luke 19:4). Its fruit was much like that of the fig, but to make it edible it was thought necessary to puncture it three or four days before it was ripe (Amos 7:14). This is not done now and today the value of this tree resides mainly in its timber. The tree must often have been of massive girth. In the episode of the "Tertre Devee" Lancelot, having hitched his horse beneath a pine, ascends the mountain on foot. At the summit he finds ".j. des plus biaux sycomores quil eust onques ueu". Tied to it was a horse and leaning against the tree ten strong lances.

Its importance in garden art stems from Egyptian times when it often figured in the centre of the garden surrounded by rectangular pools of water. The Egyptians in fact deified the tree.² In the middle ages its symbolism is yet more rich: often it stood in place of the ubiquitous pine as the very epitome of a garden. This is the case in a version of the Magic Fountain where Merlin is the shepherd³ and also in the garden of the Pucele as Blances Mains on the Ile d'Or in Le Bel Inconnu. Its neutral aspect, summarising a garden, is also evident in an episode where Guerrhes arrives at a field with a fountain "la plus bele del monde" shaded by a sycamore where three ladies picnic.⁴ The setting is an idyllic "garden" prelude to the adventures that they cause him to undertake. This is comparable to the episode where Lancelot,

1. Crudens, Bible Concordance p. 653.

2. Charageat, L'Art des Jardins p. 18.

3. Sommer, vol. 7 p. 125.

4. Sommer, vol. 5 p. 15.

wounded, rests under a sycamore by a fountain in a lovely "lande" or, where Gauvain with the Damsel of the Harp and her sister rest beneath a pine, olive and sycamore that could represent heroism, peace and love.¹ This same motif of sycamore, fountain "bele et cler" and picnicing in the shade of trees occurs again in the same book. However here, since it is the heat of the day of St. Jean, Lancelot, thirsty, drinks of the fountain water that has been poisoned by the venom of two serpents.² The clarity of the water is not equivalent to its wholesomeness, neither does the shade of the sycamore help.³

This latter point leads to the ambiguity of the sycamore in medieval garden descriptions. "La fontaine dez .ij. sycamores" is the setting for a strange tournament where the loser of the joust is pelted with sticks and stones.⁴ However, when Lancelot is the victor he is not acclaimed and the ladies retire silently to the castle. The sycamore may here represent lack of true chivalry and magnanimity.

The sycamore, furthermore, has disturbing connotations. Rabanus Maurus⁵ glosses "sycomorus" as "the cross of Christ". Guilhem de Cabestanh in his Chanson III uses the sycamore in a metaphor: the poet will not leave his beloved despite despicable people, any more than the serpent will leave the sycamore. The epitome of evil therefore appears to be linked to this tree.

1. Sommer, vol. 3 p. 177 & Sommer, vol. 7 p. 177.
2. Sommer, vol. 5 pp. 71-72.
3. Similarly (Sommer, vol. 3 p. 316) Agrevain was poisoned while asleep on a hot day on grass by a fountain shaded by a sycamore.
4. Sommer, vol. 5 p. 251.
5. Migne P.L. vol. 112 col. 1053 .

Until now it appears that no monograph has been written on the sycamore. Let us hope that this will soon be done. This thesis has associated the tree with love and being laid low by love. The association of the tree with love, affection and hospitality is beyond dispute: in the Chevalier de las Charette the son of King Bademaguz fights his last battle with Lancelot beside a sycamore in an evergreen glade. Now King Bademaguz, as the King of Brandigan were both "Bran" figures.¹ In the abovementioned episode there is the notion of hospitality and of a battle between Summer and Winter; there are vestiges of the Summer there in the mention of the sycamore and of evergreen vegetation. In the episode of the castle of Greomars his "amie", and only an "amie" by force, lies beneath a sycamore. This is a vicious place and although the elements in the description are an olive, fountain and sycamore there is no love and no peace. The sycamore is here used, as by Chretien, to represent love gone astray.

1. Loomis, Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages pp. 241 and 264.

TEREBINTH

To the south of the tomb of Blancheflor stands a red terebinth, more beautiful than the proverbially beautiful rose, more lovely than anything else beneath the heavens.¹ Of its great beauty, Pliny has little to say, but he maintains that it is used for perfumes, for wine, for resin, and, made into an electuary is good medicine for liver, kidney and other complaints.² It is therefore a tree of richness.

¹ Floire et Blancheflor, vv. 608-09.

² Pliny, N.H., XII, 8; XIV, 112; XIV, 122; XXIII, 145.

VINE

The vine often refers to Christ in Scripture: the vine, Methodius said, referred to "justice and immortality". Thus Christ said "I am the vine, you the branches; and my father is the husbandman".¹ Rabanus Maurus puts things even more succinctly: "Vinea est Christus".² Methodius is aware of the ambiguity of that plant: "It (the scripture) makes the vine stand for the precept given to Noa at the time of the Deluge, because he was mocked when overcome with wine". Yet Methodius adds: "Next the vine, because of the gaiety that is the result of wine and the joy of those who are rescued from wrath and from the Flood, intimates their transformation from fear and anxiety to joy".³ Yet he quotes scripture: "wine and women make a wise man fall off",⁴ and later he cites Numbers 6:1-4, which he glosses: "This means that anyone who has pledged and consecrated himself to the Lord is not to partake of the fruits of the plant of evil, because of its natural propensity to produce drunkenness and intoxication".

On a more practical level, wine, particularly white wine seems to have been used as a disinfectant: Gauvain's wounds were cleansed with white wine.⁵ Hermits had it, not only to use as Communion wine but also

¹ Methodius, Symposium, p. 86.

² Rabanus Maurus, Migne, P.L., vol. 112, col. 1079.

³ Methodius, Symposium, p. 143.

⁴ Ibid., p. 45.

⁵ C. O. F. P. First Continuation, mss. T.V.D., vv. 2435-36. "Aprés ont la plaie lavee / De vin blanc".

for medicinal purposes. Yet, too, its connotations were sinister: normally hermits abstained from wine, and in the funeral pyre built for Tristan and Iseult vine shoots were used, also hawthorn, blackthorn and roots.¹ Vines are also notable in their absence at the "Castel de la Fleche"² proof of its purity.

¹ Bérroul, Tristan, vv. 868-72.

² Sommer, vol. 4, p. 291.

VIOLET

Eumathios Macrembolites in his description of the garden places the violet before the rose. A "humble" although a beautiful flower its habitat and associations are world-wide. Aphrodite, the patroness of flowers and gardens ¹ is often referred to by Homer as "the violet crowned". When Jupiter changed his beloved Io into a white heifer for fear of the jealousy of Juno he caused violets to spring forth as fitting food for her and called them by her name (Latin "viola"). Another derivation attributed to this plant is that it is based on "vies" because it grew by roadsides. It has been cultivated since classical times. Columella ² suggests having special violet beds as well as rose beds, whilst Varro ³ suggests that if one lives close to the city it is a good idea to plant violets and roses and "other things that the city welcomes". Even in a practical treatise on farming the notion of a decorative garden is never far from sight. Often practicality and beauty are combined as in Varro's recommendation of the use of lupins for mulch, a custom still practised today in orchards. Varro, in his chapter "On Crops" ⁴ writes: "In sunny places you must sow violets and make gardens, for their growth depends on sunlight".

Medieval flowers were not as we consider them today. Oftentimes the violet has pride of place over the rose, yet in a Greek poem ⁵ the violet is equated in beauty to the flower of the parsley. The size of flowers was less important than their fragrance, colour and symbolism.

1. Gothein, p. 57
2. de Re Rustica, xi, iii, 52-53
3. Rerum Rusticarum, 1, i, xvi
4. *Ibid.*, 1, i, xiii
5. Hyams, p. 42

Pliny ¹ writes that apart from being used for flavouring wine, violets were favoured for use in chaplets since it was held that they were a cure against headaches. The use of violets for coronets continued throughout the middle ages. In Guillaume de Dole crowns of violets and more exotic flowers are worn by joustiers. Planche ² talks thus of the violet: "La violette, miroir des delicats, est traditionnellement la rivale l'antonyme de la rose". She notes that Jehan Froissart wrote a Plaidoirie de la Rose et de la Violette.

Violets during the middle ages were a symbol of Spring, love and festivity. In Guillaume de Dole ³ a crusader song of the Chatelain de Couci is quoted: "Li noviaus tens et mais et violete / Et roissignox me semont de chanter". In Galeran ⁴ the violet is a Spring symbol associated to the arising of Fresne. Fortunatus in "Ad domnam Radigundem" ⁵ writes that because it is not the season for roses and lilies he offers Radegund violets. He trusts that the gift is acceptable for violets are like the Queen: royal in their purple and sweet in their fragrance. In this same book Waddell writes ⁶ that Sigebert of Gembloux stated that violets stood for the pure fire of love that unites bride and groom. Akin to this association of the violet with "amour" is the idea in Hafiz of Shiraz that the violet with its humble growth and mournful hue is the Lover. ⁷

1. N.H., xxi, Lxxvi, 130.
2. "Le temps des Ancolics", p. 237.
3. Guillaume de Dole, vv. 923-24.
4. Galeran, v. 1998.
5. Quoted Waddell, Medieval Latin Lyrics, p. 58.
6. Ibid., p. 161.
7. See esp. poem 18, ed. Arberry.

The Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris describes the festivities of 1405 when Charles VI was received by Paris: "par tout où il passoit on crioit très-joyusement Noel, et jettoit on violettes et fleurs sur luy". The Journal goes on to describe the street banquets and ringing of church bells. The festivities ended in riots and beheadings but this does not detract from the value of the violet. Guillaume de Dole on the other hand does use the symbol of the violet derogatively. There is mention ¹ of "la coue d'une violete" which, according to the gloss, is used "pour exprimer une valeur ou une qualite derisoire". It appears to be comparable to "une cenele", the fruit of the hawthorn tree.

1. Guillaume de Dole, v. 289.

YEW

Neither in the Capitulare nor in the plan of St. Gall is there any mention of a yew tree. Pliny describes this tree as "hardly green at all in colour and slender in form, with a gloomy terrifying appearance".¹ He says that the berries and wood are poisonous and many who picnic or sleep beneath its shade die. He even traces the word "toxic" to "taxic".² The ill-repute of the yew continued throughout the middle ages and Jean Lemaire des Belges tells of Discord standing beneath a yew in its shade "mauvais et mortifère".³

¹ Pliny, N.H., XVI, 50. "Taxus minime virens gracilisque et tristis ac dira".

² Ibid., XVI, 51.

³ Planche, "Le temps des ancolies", p. 224.

GUILLAUME DE LORRIS' LIST OF PLANTS; THEIR SYMBOLISM, SWEET SCENT AND THE
FACT THAT THEY ARE HEALTHGIVING

Guillaume lists some thirty trees and plants in the garden of the first part of the Roman de la Rose. The poet talks with a precision that is unexpected for the period, given that the book, far from being a summary of horticulture, is a courtly romance. The fact becomes more surprising if one compares this text with other medieval descriptions. Boccaccio speaks in generalities when he describes the garden of the Decameron: the grass is covered with "mille varietà di fiori" and it contains "tutta a spezieria che mai nacque in Oriente".¹ In the Roman de Thebes, the "vergier qui mout est genz" is described in ungrounded superlatives:

"onc espice ne pimenz
Que hon peüst trouver a dire
De cel vergier ne fut a dire."²

The author of Huon de Bordeaux limits himself to a statement that could be based on Genesis: "Dix ne fist arbre qui peüst fruit porter/Que il n'eüst ens el vregier plante."³ The Courtois d'Arras is even more sketchy, "n'a erbe qui li faille",⁴ and even in the "Joie de la Cort" garden in Erec et Enide mention is only made of the sycamore and of healthgiving plants.

1. "Introduzione alla Terza Giornata", v. 50 and 40.
2. Thebes, v. 2143 ff.
3. Huon de Bordeaux, v. 5572-73.
4. Courtois d'Arras, v. 283.

On the other hand, Guillaume de Lorris only begins with generalities:

"Nul arbre n'i a, qui fruit charge,
se n'est alcuns arbres hideus,
dont il n'i ait ou trois ou deus
ou vergier, ou plus, se devient." ¹

As the poem unfolds, the description becomes more and more precise, the list of plants grows and Guillaume speaks almost as a botanist:

"Pomiers i ot, bien m'en souvient,
qui chargoient pomes guernades,
c'est uns fruiz mout bons a malades;
de noiers i ot a foison,
qui chargoient en la seson
tel fruit come sont noiz mugades,
qui ne sont ameres ne fades." ²

The effect is to increase the atmosphere of richness, even of superabundance that characterizes the garden.

But what is the origin of this catalogue of plants? Only ten of the plants in Guillaume's litany are mentioned on the plan of Saint Gall or in Charlemagne's Capitulare. Mme. Gothein suggests that to exalt the garden, Guillaume borrows from the ancients lists of trees and plants without taking into consideration the climate of France. ³ In fact, Virgil uses this procedure, for example in the Eclogues, when he describes the bunches of flowers that the nymphs prepare for Alexis and the fruits that Corydon offers him. ⁴

1. Roman de la Rose, vs. 1324-27.
2. Ibid., vs. 1328-34.
3. Gothein, p. 198.
4. Virgil, Eclogue II v. 45-55, mentions twelve flowers and fruit; v. 61-65 he names eight other trees.

Prudentius, too, when he describes the Elysian Fields where the blessed walk, lists the plants that grow there.¹ Ovid passes in review the trees that come to offer their shade to Orpheus,² but of the twenty-two trees that he names, only seven figure in the Roman de la Rose. Sidonius Apollinaris in a panygyric to his father-in-law and Claudian in de Raptu Proserpine³ both give botanical lists, and Alan of Lille in de Planctu Natura⁴ gives a detailed description of Natura: some ten species of flowers decorate her shoes for these are adorned with all the flowers that grow in the fields in Spring. However, all these lists correspond very little to that given by Guillaume.

All things considered, authors such as Curtius⁵ who deny the originality of medieval authors seem to simplify the question a little.

1. Prudentius, The Daily Round, Book V

"illic purpureis tecta rosarii
omnis fragrat humus caltaque pingua
et molles violas et tenues crocos
fundit fonticulis uda fugacibus" vv. 113-16

and he mentions the balsam and cinnamon that make the river sweet.

2. Ovid Metamorphoses Book 10. A closer parallel to Guillaume's poem is the famous monologue of Medea involving a confrontation between passion and reason and where certain lines have a nuance of personification that anticipates the allegory of a later period (vii, v. 9-71).
3. Raby, vol. 1 p. 81 and 94.
4. Ibid., vol. 2 p. 18-21.
5. Curtius, p. 183 and 184.

So it is that for Curtius the olive was introduced into French poetry via the rhetorical exercises of late antiquity. However, the olive, probably introduced into Europe by the Phoenicians, was well known in Gaul and Spain in Pliny's time and became very important in commercial life during the middle ages. It is, if one can use the term, naturalized in French poetry since the period of the Chanson de Roland. In that poem Marsile tells the envoys that he sends to Charlemagne: "Branches d'olives en voz mains porterez/Co senefient pais et humiltet." ¹

All things considered, the author of the Roman de la Rose is a poet of original talent who seeks inspiration where he can but who remodels the material and makes it serve new ends. It is therefore impossible to affirm with certainty that he borrowed the cypress, a tree prized by the "topiarii", from Virgil. It was also the tree of Zoroaster, beloved by the Persians as a symbol of eternity, and perhaps it entered French tradition through Arab influence. So too one could explain Guillaume including exotic plants cultivated by the Arabs for their scent as well as for their taste, such as the nutmeg, clove, zedoary and cinnamon. Guillaume must, in fact, have known this sort of "espice delitable" perhaps owing to a life as courtier, for he insists with delightful frankness "que bon mangier fet apres table." ²

1. J.C. Brown (French Forest Ordnance of 1669, Oliver and Boyd, London, 1883, p. 3) quoted by M. Cezanne who affirms that the olive was introduced into France by the Phoenicians, probably around the seventh century B.C. at the time of their great expansion and of the establishment of commercial colonies on the Mediterranean coast: there are still found among the pines of Provence stumps of olive trees planted by the ancient Phoenicians. See also M. Grieve, (A Modern Herbal p. 598) and Noel Coulet, ("Pour une Histoire du Jardin", Le Moyen Age, 1967, Tome 73, p. 239-270) on the growing importance of the olive in commerce up till the fourteenth century. Chanson de Roland laisse V, vv. 72-73; the olive is also mentioned in vv. 93, 203, 366, 1705, 2571.
2. Roman de la Rose, v. 1344.

Above all the list of plants achieves an effect like the list of stones, fruits and foods in Floire et Blancheflor: it enhances the wonder of the description.

In the Roman de la Rose certain plants may have been mentioned because of their symbolism. Aniseed and above all fennel were used "contra insidias venenorum". Bunches of fennel were hung from doorways on Midsummer Night as a protection against the evil eye.¹ It was believed that the ash was an antidote against snake bite and that serpents even avoided crossing its shadow.² Other plants are highly fitting for a paradise of love. The violet was associated to the cult of Aphrodite who was called "violet crowned", for instance in Homer. The periwinkle was used in love philtres during the middle ages for: "it enduceth love between man and wife/if it be used in their meats."³ The pomegranate, with its fruit filled with seeds, was prized since antiquity as a symbol of fertility. It was perhaps that fruit (or the quince which is also mentioned in the Roman de la Rose) that Paris gave to Venus.⁴ It is later found, endowed with Christian symbolism, in the primitive Italian school where it is held either by the Virgin or by the Infant Jesus. Guillaume also names the quince, dedicated to Venus, which consequently became the symbol of love and fertility and was shared by husband and wife at the marriage ceremony both in the middle ages and in antiquity.⁵ Finally the "graine de paradis novel" is worth mentioning: an exotic plant, it was used in the haute cuisine of the middle ages⁶ and is a supremely fitting symbol for a paradise of the senses.

1. Isidore of Seville, xvii, ii, 4; Grieve p. 294.
2. Pliny, xvi, xxiv, 62.
3. The Book of Secrets (falsely attributed to Albert the Great) p. 8.
4. Miles Hadfield, Gardening in Britain p. 38.
5. Grieve p. 684.
6. Ibid., p. 598. This spice, seed of *Aframomum melegueta*, is peppery and was used to season meats, but especially to concoct the tonic wine, hippocras (L. vinum hippocraticum) that was drunk at the end of banquets. (Paul E. Beichner, "The Grain of Paradise", Speculum, 36, 1961, p. 302).

Scent is of primary importance in Guillaume's garden. When the Dreamer discovers the rose garden he is struck by the soft and sweet scent of these flowers:

"et bien sachiez, quant je fui pres,
l'odor des roses savoree
m'entra jusques en la coree,
que por noiant fusse enbasmez." ¹

Now scent, associated since antiquity with the "locus amoenus", ² is also linked to the myth of the Earthly Paradise, at least since the Book of Enoch with its description of the Tree of Life. ³ The spices in the Roman de la Rose take part in this tradition of sweet-scented things and are fitting to a place called "espiritables", for in the middle ages it was believed that spices came from Eden and had been scented with the fragrance of Paradise. Tertullian specifies that cinnamon and amomum have that origin, and Honorius of Autun lists a dozen plants that grew in the garden of Eden, amongst them cinnamon that has the symbolic value of representing the Church, ⁴ or, according to Rabanus Maurus, the humble. ⁵ Pliny mentions, perhaps a little sceptically, that

1. Roman de la Rose, vv. 1624-27.

2. For example, the sweet scent of the "locus amoenus" is found in Claudian's description of the abode of Venus: "in medio glaebis redolentibus area dives/praebat odoratas messes." (Epithalamium v. 92-93)

This motif occurs again in the middle ages, for example in the "Altercatio Phyllidis et Florae", an anonymous poem dating from the first half of the twelfth century:

"Parvo tractu temporis nemus est inventum
ad ingressum nemoris murmurat fluentum;
ventus inde redolet myrrham et pigmentum;
audiuntur tympana citaraeque centum."
(Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse p. 76-87)

3. Book of Enoch xxiv, 4.

4. Migne P.L. vol. 172, col. 424.
Isidore of Seville (lib., xvii, ix, 2) confirms the exotic origin of spices.

5. Migne P.L. vol. 112, col. 896.

Alexander realized that he was approaching Persia when he smelt the scent of cinnamon wafting with the breeze.¹ The anecdote serves to show up to what point this spice was linked to legend and had exotic associations. According to Herodotus,² cinnamon came from the nest of the phoenix, a legend also confirmed by Ovid³ who explained that the phoenix finished its life scented by the perfume of cinnamon. Mohammedans give a similar origin to spices linking them to Paradise: they sprang from the tears of Adam when he was chased from Eden.⁴ Other plants associated with Paradise are the cedar, the cypress and the pine, all of which are mentioned in the Roman de la Rose. According to legend, Seth visited Eden and brought back seeds from these trees that grew in the mouth of the dying Adam. Later, after the exodus from Egypt, Moses brought the trees to Ebron. From these trees came the rod which made water spring from the stone and which acts as a remedy against snake bite. From them, too, comes the wood of the cross.⁵

Linked to the theme of benefit derived from scent and the paradisiacal origin of plants is the idea of health giving plants. The notion of nature as a source of health has its place in various glosses on the Earthly Paradise, for example that of Honorius of Autun,⁶ and it is even associated with regions

1. Pliny xii, xlii, 86.
2. Pliny xii, xlii, 85.
3. Ovid Metamorphoses xv, 92-98.
4. Graf, p. 29-30. From Eve's tears, pearls came.
5. Graf, p. 79. The cedar plays an important role in the ancient epic of Gilgamesh (chap. 2). The hero and his friend Enkidu undertake a quest to fetch cedars from the forest defended by the spirit of Evil. The episode, possibly in origin based on commercial life, is transformed into a visit to the Otherworld.
5. D. Quid est paradisus, vel ubi est?
M. Locus amoenissimus in Oriente, in quo arbores diversi generis, contra varios defectus erant constitatae: verbi gratia, ut si homo congruo tempore de alia, nunquam sitiret; si de alia vero nunquam lassaretur. Ad ultimum, si de ligno vitae uteretur, non amplius seneceret, non infirmaretur, nunquam moreretur.
Honorius of Autun, Migne P.L. vol. 172, col. 1117, no. 13.

adjoining Eden such as the Kingdom of Prester John where "abbondano piante di gran vertu."¹ Guillaume de Lorris alludes to this motif when he affirms that the pomegranate "est uns fruiz mout bons a malades",² and when amongst the plants he mentions several that have medicinal values such as the ash, fennel and mint to mention only three examples. The clove pink or gillyflower, also listed in Guillaume's garden, was used in weaving chaplets, for its scent was meant to comfort the spirit.

1. Graf p. 20 and note p. 20. The Kingdom of Prester John at the time of Boccaccio had become proverbial as a symbol of the marvellous. It was believed that this region was close to the Earthly Paradise but in itself, also, it was considered a sort of paradise. Of another region close to Paradise, Graf, basing his statement on a tenth century manuscript, affirms: "Vivono queglii uomini di pane che piove loro dal cielo, non conoscono le infirmità e campan cent' anni".
2. Roman de la Rose v. 1330. Guillaume de Lorris follows closely Isidore of Seville who says that the pomegranate is a valued medicine (xvii, vii, 6). Ash was used as an antidote to snake bit (Pliny xvi, xxiv, 62); mint was put in restorative baths; fennel juice was used to improve the sight (Isidore xvii, xi, 4).

AUTOMATA, HESDIN AND FLOIRE ET BLANCHEFLOR

The first mention of automata appears to be made by the Byzantine historian Kedrenos. He notes that after the flight of Chosroes II in 624, the Byzantine emperor Heraclius entered the palace and discovered not only the potrait of Chosroes enthroned in the globe-shaped ceiling, but also certain automata: "Là, cet ennemi de Dieu avoit fait fabriquer des machines à faire tomber des gouttes comme la pluie et afaire produire des sons imitant le tonnerre".¹ Two associations come to mind: firstly the hermit figure from the park at Hesdin, secondly the description of certain storms in literature. It would seem in fact that there was a certain interaction between gardens and literature.

Hesdin was built by Robert II of Artois, nephew of Charles of Anjou, the conqueror of Sicily. Robert must have been a man of some stature, for in the Roman de la Rose he is spoken of in the same breath as Gauvain and we hear that his nobility shone from the earliest age.² He had contacts with Southern Italy at various times. In 1270 he passed through Palermo, part of the escort accompanying back from Tunis the body of Louis IX. Between 1285 and 1289 he was regent³ of Sicily but based in Naples³ because of unrest and it was immediately after his return to France that he set about executing his inspired dream for in that same year we hear of a "nouvelle closure du parch".⁴ From the accounts of the mending of automata and from the miniatures of the manuscript L'Épître d'Othea de Cristine de

¹ Charageat, L'Art, p. 2.

² Roman de la Rose, vv. 18671-80.

³ This was not the only contact between Artois and southern Italy: in 1285 Adam de la Halle went to Naples to give performances of the Jeu de la Feuillée and Robin et Marion.

⁴ Charageat, L'Art, p. 94.

Pisan executed in the fifteenth century under the direction of Jean Méliot, we have an excellent résumé of what the garden was actually like.¹ The details are sufficient to counteract once and for all the impression that medieval gardens were always simply enclosed squares with a chequer-board arrangement of sparsely planted beds. Hesdin was a grandiose place, highly ambitious in concept, and in a strange way it seems to foreshadow in its accent on landscaping and surprise elements eighteenth century English gardens. No doubt, as Charageat affirms, it was "un rêve extraordinaire inspiré par un décor sicilien",² yet there is no proof in the records that Muslim craftsmen took part in its construction. This would suggest that by the late thirteenth century the French had mastered the principles of complicated automata or had in their possession a book on these curiosities aimed at surprising, perhaps written by an Arab.³ What is of particular interest when compared to the statement by the Byzantine historian Kedrenos is the description of the hermit's statue "qui faisait pleuvoir (...) et aussi tonner, et neiger et aussi escliser comme on le veoit au ciel".⁴

M. Grimal briefly alludes to the possibility of literary influence on the garden and he mentions most aptly Arthurian tradition and also in general the concept of the Enchanted Garden.⁵ This suggestion is worthy

¹ Grimal, L'Art des Jardins, pp. 61-63, Charageat, "Le parc d'Hesdin", pp. 94-98, especially.

² Charageat, Ibid., p. 101.

³ El-Jazari's book on automata dates from C. 1306. Roger II of Sicily, (1130-1154) engaged Muslim engineers as did Frederick II forty years later.

⁴ Grimal, L'Art des Jardins, p. 61.

⁵ Ibid., p. 62.

of further consideration. The artificial storm provoked by the automate of the hermit is distinctly reminiscent of the episode of the Magic Fountain in Chrétien's Chevalier au Lion,¹ and strangely enough in 1278 at a festival held at Hem-Monacu, Robert II played the part of Yvain himself.² The fountain in the Chevalier au Lion seems certainly to be based on a Celtic otherworld tale³ and more precisely on local legend surrounding the fountain of Berenton in the forest of Broceliande. In origin the story may represent the love of a mortal for a fountain fay, but more immediately it shows traces of sympathetic magic, of some survival of a rain-making rite where the spilling of water induces a storm.⁴ The hermit of Hesdin is also a rationalized, artificed, re-enactment of a "rain-making" priest.

Other magical storms occur in Huon de Bordeaux, there provoked by the fairy king Auberon when he hits his horn. The following is a description of such a storm:

Qui dont veist et plovoir et venter,
 Arbres froisier et moult fort escliser,
 Bestes fuir, ne sevent u aler,
 Et ces oisiaus parmi ce bos voler!
 Dix ne fist homme ne soit espoentés.⁵

¹ Chevalier au Lion, vv. 6395-418.

² Loomis, Arthurian Literature and Chretien de Troyes, p. 312.

³ Brown, "Ivain," 84 - 94.

⁴ Eliade, Traité d'Histoire des Religions.

⁵ Huon de Bordeaux, vv. 3291-95.

Can the horn possibly be a corruption of the horn of plenty, that by causing rain makes the earth later fruitful? Be that as it may, the horn is linked with various elements of a primitive rain-making rite, for its winding forces people to sing and dance: "Et chil (Huon and his group) ne porent cevaucier ne errer, / Ains les couvint au son del cor canter".¹ Auberon is distinctly an otherworld figure with all his magic powers which include control over wild beasts.² But then, too, the hermit is in a fashion his counterpart since hermits form a link between Heaven and Earth.

The artificial storm at Hesdin has similarities to that which overtakes Gauvain, when, after his sister Clarissant has married Guiromelant without his consent, he rides off caring not whither, following no path. At midnight the moon becomes covered with cloud and the heavens open:

Car la lune laisa de luire
 Et li ciaus se covri de nues,
 Granz et noires et estandues,
 Chargiee de gresle et de pluie.
 Si vos di bien qu'i (1) li ennuie
 Ce qu'il voit de totes parz
 Venir esclites et coparz
 Et ot molt durement toner. (...)
 Car sor lui cheoit pelle et melle
 Li esparz, la pluie et la grelle.³

¹ Huon de Bordeaux, vv. 3382-83.

² Ibid., vv. 3575-78.

³ C. O. F. P., ms. E, vv. 2200-07; 2017-18.

He can go no further but has to dismount beneath a tree, sheltering under his shield. In the morning the storm has passed, the sun appears. Gauvain now follows a path and comes to "une si très belle gaudine",¹ a beautiful forest, fresh after the rain and filled with birdsong so that Gauvain feels nothing but joy. The storm has been, as it were, a form of purification. So too at Hesdin the visitor after passing by the various uncanny devices in the gallery would have come out, probably with relief and some laughter, to enjoy the park.

From available information we know that automata and other artful devices such as waterspouts aimed at surprising the passer-by were built at Hesdin before the death of Robert II in 1302. Such artifices in their conception may well have been influenced by Arthurian romance and quite possibly in their turn exerted an influence on later landscape descriptions. The automata of Floire et Blancheflor have a specific role, namely to give exoticism to the gardens and also an Eastern flavour. The idea of two complementary automaton figures is not new to French literature. It is found also in the Pèlerinage de Charlemagne: "when the sea wind blows, the palace at Byzantium starts to turn and two figures blow paradisiacal music. At this, rather amusingly, all the Palladins cower to earth and cover their eyes with the exception of Charlemagne who just preserves his dignity by merely sitting down".²

The wondrous tent of Alardin in the C. O. F. P. possesses automata that are comparable in some respects to those of Floire et Blancheflor. Above the tent is a golden eagle with wings outstretched and so lifelike that it appears ready to take flight. Because it is hollow, when the wind blows the bird makes as beautiful a sound as any instrument.³ At the

¹ Ibid., v. 2049.

² Pèlerinage de Charlemagne, vv. 385-387.

³ C. O. F. P. First Continuation, vv. 4043-58.

entrance to the tent are two "images" that are its door-keepers: one opens the door whilst the other closes it. One plays a harp and from its accord or discord a virgin can be distinguished from a woman who falsely makes herself out to be such. When the harp does make a beautiful sound no man feels either hunger or thirst¹ or can remember any pain that he might have had. The second figure holds a dart with which he wounds any "villain" who tries to enter this tent that in so many ways stands in lieu of a "Garden of Love".² The guardian figures of the doorway are reminiscent of the automata with flails that guard the castle of Dunostre in Huon de Bordeaux so that not even a lark can fly inside.³ Obviously an automaton that can tell a virgin from a woman or a knight from a peasant is a poetic license that adds glamour to the text and follows the tradition of magical portents. In a similar vein is the magical fountain of the Emir's garden in Floire et Blancheflor whose nature it is to let a virgin pass over its still waters, but as soon as a woman who has known a man crosses, the waters become troubled.

Nonetheless automata as part of garden or architectural decoration are solidly based on Eastern tradition. Artificial trees already make their appearance in the Epic of Gilgamesh, an attribute of the otherworld which the hero penetrates. Gilgamesh in his search for his dead friend Enkidu, crosses a cosmic barrier; he passes ten leagues through a mountain in blackness, and discovers himself in a garden: "There was the garden of the Gods; all around him stood bushes bearing gems. Seeing it he went down at once, for there was fruit of carnelian with vine hanging from it, beautiful to look at; lapis lazuli leaves hung thick with fruit, sweet

¹ Cf. the effects of scent p. supra

² C. O. F. P. First Continuation, vv. 4089-126.

³ Huon de Bordeaux, vv. 4590-94.

to see. For thorns and thistles there were haematite and rare stones, agate and pearls from out of the sea".¹ An artificial tree has the attribute of always being at its prime, and one of its origins must have been the desire of the possessor to have a symbol of perpetual Spring, a Spring as exotic as that discovered by Gilgamesh. In Persia, and they were a Persian speciality, artificial trees also represent a cosmological tree, a sun tree or moon tree, decorated with atmosphere symbols in the form of serpents. From such trees four rivers were shown to flow representing the four quarters of the Earth.² The elements in common with the Eden of Genesis stand out. As engineering developed various devices were added to such artificial trees to make them more exotic. In Baghdad Al Mamour created his "Palace of the Tree". There the ambassadors of the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII (Porphyrogenitus) were received in 917 in an attempt to conclude the war with Syria. According to Guy Le Strange, there they found "un arbre d'argent pesant 500,000 dirhems (= C. 1.500 kg.) sur lequel étaient perchés des oiseaux fabriqués en argent, qui sifflaient avec des mouvements automatiques".³ The tree had leaves of various colours which waved as the branches moved. The tree of Constantinople described by Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, was probably inspired by that of the court of Baghdad. Luitprand visited Constantinople between 947 and 949 and although he disliked the Byzantines he could not but be staggered by the

¹ Epic of Gilgamesh, p. 97. The lapis lazuli is a stone with cosmic symbolism representing as it does the star-spangled night. When lapis lazuli is associated with a tree, it points to the cosmological importance of the latter. (See Eliade, Traite d'Histoire des religions, pp. 234-35). Kesar, legendary King of the Mongols, penetrated into the otherworld by a tunnel through the top of the mountains. (Eliade, Traité, p. 94). His journey, as that of Gilgamesh was an initiatory trial.

² Polak, p. 233.

³ Quoted, Charageat, L'Art des Jardins, p. 43.

automata of the state throne room of the Triconchus Palace. The throne was based on the throne of Solomon in the Bible, and of the tree Luitprand writes: "Before the emperor's seat stood a tree, made of bronze gilded over, whose branches were filled with birds, also made of gilded bronze, which uttered different cries, each according to its varying species". Luitprand asserts that he was "neither terrified nor surprised" since he had been warned that the Byzantines enjoyed amazing people, yet, after he had made the three ceremonial bows he looked up and suddenly saw the emperor "sitting on the level of the ceiling".¹ These trees with their song birds and other similar devices form the basis of later literary descriptions. In Byzantine gardens, the figures of animals were animated by ingenious hydraulic arrangements. Authors mention such reflections of the marvels of the palace of Theophilus at Constantinople: a goat milked by its herdsman with milk falling into a bucket, eagles that beat their wings over ornamental tanks of water.² No stranger than this is the life-like eagle over the tent of Alardin that makes music when the wind blows.³ Other, only slightly romanticized, literary descriptions have come down to us. Firdausi, for instance, in one of the tales of Shāh Nama, describes a fruit-scattering tree: "Its trunk was of silver, its branches of gold set with rubies". It was laden with golden quinces, an aphrodisiac, and cedrates, meant to calm the passions. These were hollow and filled with musk and wine which the breeze showered on anyone sitting beneath.⁴ Lucienne Polak⁵ aptly compares this to the tree of the Emir's garden in Floire et Blancheflor that shades the magic fountain.⁶ The Emir's tree

¹ Anapodosis, v. 5, pp. 207-8, quoted Ellis Davidson, p. 195.

² Charageat, L'Art des Jardins, p. 38.

³ C. O. F. P. First Continuation, vv. 4043-58.

⁴ Polak, p. 233.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Floire et Blancheflor, vv. 1804-19; 1836-51.

called the "arbre d'amours", the poet says, because it bears flowers at all times, reference to the fact that love is always seasonable. Furthermore it mysteriously obeys the Emir's desires by letting a flower fall on the maiden of his choice. The Shāh Nama description is also affiliated to the garden of Blancheflor's tomb. The tree in the former bears fruit that are meant to cause love and to cure it, while in Floire et Blancheflor the birdsong either induces the young to love, or calms those of a certain age so that they fall asleep. Also the trees to the east and west of the tomb shed chrism and balsam whilst that described by Firdausi scatters musk and wine. The similarities are unmistakable.

Susanne Méjean has suggested that the famous trees and birds of Baghdad and Constantinople may have influenced the description of the Magic Fountain in the Chevalier au Lion.¹ But Eastern exoticism is not one of the characteristics of Chrétien, and more likely the "service" of birdsong is based on the Celtic otherworld tradition of bird paradises. The Eastern trees however probably influenced the description of the exotic pine in Huon de Bordeaux:

Emmi la voie avoit un pin planté
 Qui fu asis sour cinquante pilers
 Qui tout estoient di fin or esmeré.²

This strange tree offers the hero a foretaste of the marvels of the Emir's garden. Knowledge of Eastern automata could have reached Europe in many ways.³ There were numerous travellers such as the learned Luitprand who

¹ "A propos de l'arbre aux oiseaux...", pp. 392-99.

² Huon de Bordeaux, vv. 5448-50.

³ Ebersolt, Orient et Occident.

would have described the marvels of the Orient to their amazed countrymen, and, at a slightly later date, details of Eastern inventions were transmitted via Arab learning. Arab authors translated the famous treatises on hydraulic mechanics of the school of Alexandria, notably those of Philon of Byzantium, Ctesibus and Heron of Alexandria, and the Arabs improved on these. As early as the ninth century, Haroun ar-Rachid sent Charlemagne a clock, probably a water powered one, and by the very early thirteenth century, this type of learning had been perfected. In about 1206 al-Jazari wrote a book on automata,¹ but already in the ninth century Makrisi describes gardens near Cairo where hydraulic feats were achieved. There, in the tradition of Mesopotamia, palm trees were covered with gilded copper. Inside this sheath were lead tubes up which water flowed so that it issued forth as if coming from the trunks themselves. Something very similar is described in Floire et Blancheflor as one of the marvels of the "tour d'antiquité" that houses the twenty-seven maidens destined to be the future wives of the Emir. The tower is constructed of marble and crystal pillars three stories high and up one of these pillars water is carried so that the girls can wash whenever they like, it even flows into each of their rooms. The author is obviously fascinated by the device of raising water and he describes the process in the following way:

Dedanz (a pillar) est bien fez un chanaus
 Par quoi sus monte une fontaine
 Dont l'eve est froide, clere et saine;
 Droit monte amont el tierz estage;
 Moult tien l'engineor a sage
 Qui fist amont l'eve torner
 Par une coste d'un piler
 Si qu'es estages sus rement

¹ Legacy of Islam, p. 312.

En un metal gentement pent
 Dont les puceles qui i sont
 Levent lors mains, quant mestier ont.¹

This is not an isolated feat of hydraulic engineering. In the Tristan of Eilhart we learn that water circulated through the chambers of a medieval manor, and Pietro de' Crescenzi, the Chancellor of Bologna and author of de Agricultura Vulgare, mentions the raising up of water. He gives detailed descriptions of transporting water through lead piping or channels of wood, but recommends terra cotta casing as "piu salutevole". Water is to be carried by aquaduct where it passes a valley or by underground tunnel where there is a hill. He adds that water can be brought to the surface wherever it is wanted: "si lieve su lacqua la dove piacera di farla salire",² but gives no precise details as to the method. The carrying of water underground over large distances coupled with the knowledge of how to raise it brings to mind the Persian technology of the "qanat" system.

¹ Floire et Blancheflor, vv. 1656-66.

² Lib. 1, cap. VIII, "De canali a coducere laque alle cistenne & alle fonte".

GARLANDS

Garlands are consecrated by myth and antiquity. According to Pliny¹ Bacchus was the first to adorn his brow with a circlet of ivy: Grimal suggests² that garlands were a motif of the cult of Dionysius, possibly of Asian origin. Later garlands came to be associated with the feasts of Hymen: the bridal couple and all those taking part in the ceremony wore coronets of leaves. Pliny³ mentions Glycera a "coronaria" or professional garland maker, who varied her designs to encourage her painter-lover. She is said to have been the first to begin different flowers in garlands.

In Roman times chaplets won at games were considered a great honour and the hero, at his death, could have it laid on his body whilst lying in state. Tibullus mentions an occasion when not only offerings but a garland were placed on the grave of a little girl, a sign of great respect. However, there were grave public penalties for wearing wreaths inappropriately in public: a banker L. Fulvius was imprisoned for wearing a chaplet of roses in the daytime when he looked out onto the forum from his portico during the Second Punic War. Pliny considered it outrageous that young revellers wearing wreaths would, in the morning, go to the schools of the philosophers.

After a brief period when flowers were banned⁴ the middle ages preserved the custom for both sexes of wearing coronets with flowers. The Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris (p. 652) relates how when the fraternity of Saint-Andry was begun in the parish of St. Eustache, all wore chaplets of roses. There were so many people that the masters of the fraternity said that they had made more than sixty dozen of them. It was mid-summer, a Friday, 9th June, and, probably

1. N.H., xvi, 4-9.

2. Jardins Romains, p. 283.

3. N.H., xxi, 2, 4.

4. Crisp, p. 44.

because of the heat, the diary affirms that before midday all the coronets were wilted. All wore chaplets, even the priests, so that the monastery of St. Eustache smelt as if it had been washed in rose water.

Garland making, as attested by both illumination and literature, was one of the favourite pastimes of medieval ladies. In the Menagier de Paris the husband says to his young wife: "Sachiez que je ne prends pas déplaisir, mais plaisir, en ce que vous aurez a labourer rosiers, a garder violetes et 'a faire chapeaulx."¹ Following Classical custom, garlands were not only the head covering of young ladies in Summer but also a common reward for men successful at popular games.

Various leaves and flowers were favoured for coronets. The laurel was used as a sign of victory. Violets, roses, cornflowers and the periwinkle were the flowers most commonly employed. The scented wild mint and also the lily took their place in garlands held to be beautiful, but Pliny² maintained that the rose held pride of place. Faral, in his article "La Pastourelle" mentions the use of nettles as a coronet. This is obviously an example of an aristocratic literature using facetiously, a classical motif, since crowns of nettles or thorns were only used in mockery as in the agony of Christ. Whatever the implication the symbolism of the flowers or leaves was almost as important as their beauty or scent.

Mention has been made of Glycera, the professional "coronaria"; Austophanes talks of young girls who earned their living by plaiting garlands and this was to such an extent a profession that in Paris in the middle ages there was a Corporation of garland makers. However, coronet making was above all a measure of leisure, as is the making of daisy-chains even today. Boccaccio, in

1. Quoted Joret, p. 183.

2. Quoted Joret, p. 89.

his introduction to the Terza Giornata talks of the gentlemen who walked with the ladies making chaplets and nosegays and singing softly to themselves. Also in the Continuation (p. 31) the "amie" of the Pensive Knight held captive by her ravisher Brun sits in a tent beneath a tree quietly amusing herself on her own by making chaplets of flowers and leaves.

Garlands were important in art to the extent that they bestowed name and immortality to Girlandaio. They were even more important in day to day life and, from early times, had a symbolic value. Methodius (p. 96) wrote of a garland of wisdom and truth and affirmed that coronets represented flowers of the mind. The logos 6 of Agate ends: "I offer you, Arete, this garland which I have adorned and plaited from the meadows of the Prophets". She has taken their words and woven them as flowers into her discourse.

During the middle ages garlands first and foremost were a symbol of love, courtship or affection. Lancelot as a youth dwelling with the Lady of the Lake has a chaplet of roses in all seasons except on Fridays, great vigils or on the days of Lent. He finds a chaplet mysteriously on his pillow each morning but can never tell who gave it to him although he tries to keep watch. When Lionel and Bohort arrive he shares the chaplet with them: it is a sign of fraternity and of the affectation of the Lady of the Lake.¹ As can perhaps be expected, since a garland is an emblem of love, in Guillaume de Lorris' Roman de la Rose all the principal characters wear chaplets from the god himself to Oiseuse and Deduit who has been given one by Leece. In Guillaume de Dole the girls on a hunt wear exotic crowns of feathers and flowers: "chapelez entrelardez/de biax oisiaux et de floretes".²

1. Sommer, vol. 3 p. 86.

2. Guillaume de Dole, vv. 205-06.

The giving of a garland was also a "message". Again in Guillaume de Dole¹ "un chapel de flors et de mente" is presented, proof also of the importance of scent in such a token. Above all the giving or wearing of a chaplet is a "message" of love. In the Sparrowhawk episode from Le Bel Inconnu the lover of the ugly Rose Espanie wears a chaplet of roses when he tries to defend her claim to beauty. This love token seems to signify that he is genuine and that this is not an episode dealt with sarcastically by the author. Knights at tournaments assayed their helmets with chaplets woven by the "amie". In Galeran the hero wears a "chapel" of violets and roses woven for him by Fresne. Furthermore the giving of a coronet in mediéval literature appears to endow the given with certain rights. When Esmeree² gives Galeran a garland it allows her a certain intimacy with him, the infirmality to call him "ami" and furthermore to look him "en my le vis". To give or to receive a garland during the middle ages could be interpreted as an intimacy that betokened a betrothal.

1. Guillaume de Dole, v. 950.

2. Galeran, vv. 4553-57.

A SELECTION OF HORTICULTURAL TERMS

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH ARBOUR

loge ramée	logete	logier	herbier	feuillee
---------------	--------	--------	---------	----------

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH BRANCH

compounds:	branche ursine	branch	ursine	
branche	brancoie	branchir	escot	hart
halot	moissine	moisine	ploion	raim
raims	raym	rain	raime	reme
raincel	rame	ramée	ramaille	ramoison
ramier	ramage	rameil	ramelet	ramil
ramisel	ramselet	ramet	ramon	ramain
ramu				

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH BUSH

buisson	rapoi
---------	-------

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH CULTIVATED LAND

gaaignier	gaegnier	gaignier	gaaing	gain
gaaigne	gaaignee	gaaignement	gaaignage	gaaignerie
gaaigneor	gaaignable	gaegnier	gaigner	coltiver
cotiver	costiver	coustiver	cotivement	cotivage
coutiveure	coutivoison	coutivour	coutivier	coture
costure	couturer	couturier	cultif	cultible
foer	foir	foeor		

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH FADE

flaistre	flestre	flaistrir	flestre	mois
----------	---------	-----------	---------	------

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH FLOWER

flor	florete	floreter	flore	eissir fluers
------	---------	----------	-------	---------------

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH FRUIT

fruiz frogier	esfruitier fruchier	efritier fruitier	fruit	fruiterie
------------------	------------------------	----------------------	-------	-----------

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH GARDEN

estre	gart	gardin	garding	jard
jart	jartage	jardin	jardinage	oiche
osche	oschote	oschete	ort	hort
or	ortel	ortelon	ortage	ortelage
ortellerie	ortelain	ortelein	maise	mes
meis	cort	corteil	prael	parc
parchet	parquet	parge	porpris	porprison
proprise	renclus	vergier	verget	vregier

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH GARDENER

pepin pepine

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH GARLAND

garlande galande garlander garlandesche garlandeschier

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH GERMINATION

germe germin germon germiner gernier

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH GRAFTING

ente enter anté de graver grever

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH GRASS/LAWN

enerber	enherber	enherbement	enherbure	erbe
erbail	erbaille	erbel	erbelois	erbier
erbiere	erbis	erboi	erboil	erbor
erbu	erbos	erber	erbiller	erbilleoir
erbe	erbelee	erbolee	erberie	herbe
compounds:	l'erbe lee			
blades of grass:	paus	peil	poil	

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH GROWING

creistre	croitre	creis	croist	creissement
creissant	creue	cresture	crestine	croisseur
croistre	poindre	raverdir	raverd	oier
regendrer				

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH HEDGE

cepee plaisse plaissie ploiche plochon

haie
haise
soie

haier
hase
sevil

haiee
haisin
vene

haieiere
sep
vane

haion
soif

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH LEAF

feuille
fuille
foillet,
foillie

foilles
foil
foillier
raverdie

folle
fueil
follir

follie
feuille
folli

fuelle
foille
foillu

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH MAY TREE

emmaier

mai

moi

me

maislier

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH PATH

pievoie
sentelete
voielet

rote
sentier
voielete

sente
senteret

sentele
senterete

sentelet
voiete

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH PICKING

coillir
cueilloite
escorre

cueillir
cueillage
esquedre

cueldre
cueillerie
quellir

cuelte
cueilleor
quoillir

colte
encoillir

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH PLANT/PLANTATION

plante
planteis
alucher

plantele
plantin
tofte

planter
plantain
edefier

plantée
complant

plantoison
mainplant

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH RIPENING

ameürer
meur

meuror
meurir

maurer
maurir

meurté
walmone

meurisson

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH ROOT

rassine
rachines

racine

raciner

rachier

racinement

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH SCENT

flagrance	flaor	flerer	fler	flerement
fleror	flereis	flairant	flairable	flerir
flereier				

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH SEEDS

semence	semer	semeure	semoison	semencier
semencie	semines	seminer	grain	graine
grenage	grenaille	grenier	greneterie	grenetier

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH SHOOT

cion	tendrum	tendrun	temdrum	puel
pueil	puelle	pueillier		

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH SPICES

espece	espesse	espice	espies	espicier
epicerie	espesserie	epicier	epiciers	peperce
pigment	piment	pimentier	savor	

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH STALK

pecol	peciol	tige	tros	tors
-------	--------	------	------	------

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH STOCK

cep	cepel	sep	esceper	estoc
-----	-------	-----	---------	-------

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH THORN

espine	espin	espinon	espincon	espine
espinoi	espinoie	espince	espinat	espinar
espingle	petillon			

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH TREE

arbre	arbrechel
-------	-----------

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH TRELLIS

traille	treille	treillier	treilleure
---------	---------	-----------	------------

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH TRUNK

plote	sorcel	tronc	tronche	tronchet
-------	--------	-------	---------	----------

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH WATER/WELL

ever	evier	pecine	rieu	rif
rigot	riu	rui (and other derivatives)	rigol	rigol
rigoler	rigolas	rigoine	ruiot	riot
ruiotel	ruisson	ruissot	vivier	vivorou
doie	doe	duie	dois	doiz
doit	duit	doitel	doitil	no
noc	puch	puchot	puis	puiset
puisier	dore	doire	dourel	

WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH WOOD/FOREST

fust	fustaille	fusteis	fustage	fuster
fusteor	fuisel	fuissiel	boisson	boisete
boiseter	boisiere	boiserie	boisart	boissier
buisson	boison (traire le serpent del)			buissonet
buissoncel	buissonoi	riepe	ripe	brueil
brueille	broillet	bruillet	brulet	boschel
broce	bos	bois	boschage	boschageos
boschain	boschel	boschetel	boschon	boschois
boschaille	sorpost	boscheel	forest	forestier
foree	forel	foreste	foresterie	gal
galt	galdee	galdine	gaudin	selve

* * *

An index of plant names common in the middle ages was too voluminous to add to a thesis of this scope.

* * *

SCENT

Sweetness of scent is associated in many traditions with Paradise. Hafiz of Shiraz writes: "Bring wine, O Saki, that the houris spice / With angel fragrance out of Paradise".¹ He sees reality in the eternal; for him worldly sensation is but a reflection of divine beauty. Yet, in an almost nineteenth century way he seeks mystical unreason through a particular sort of sensuality by means of which he aims at union with the divine. In a simpler way Fortunatus, too, associates perfume with heaven when he writes of the rose garden of the Merovingian queen Ultrogate, wife of Childebert: "Hic ver purpureum viridantia gramina gignit, / Et paradisiacas spargit odore rosas".²

More precisely perfume is associated with sanctity. In La Queste del Saint Graal the boat bearing the body of the mystical "chaste pucele" is so beautifully scented that Lancelot feels he is in "paradis terrestre".³ Gui de Warewic, the hero of the book of that name, when dead smells as delicious as all the spices of the world.⁴ This not only proves his holiness but is said to have caused miracles to happen: "Nuls hom qui ait enfermeté / Qui de cel odur ne sait sané".⁵ The scent of Gui's dead body is in direct contrast to the stench of the dragon, that very incarnation of evil, that Gui had earlier destroyed. Rabanus Maurus adds his support to this conception of sweet smells typifying holiness: he glosses "odor" as "suavitas sanctitatis, ut in Cantico: 'Et odor unguentorum super omnia aromata', id est, suavitas virtutum tuorum omnia excedit dulcia hujus vitae".⁶

¹ Poem No. 46.

² Migne, P.L., vol. 88, col. 228. Caput VIII, "De horto Ultrogothonis reginae".

³ La Queste, p. 247.

⁴ Gui de Warewic, v. 11581.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vv. 11587-88.

⁶ Migne, P.L., vol. 112, col. 1010.

As just noted in Gui de Warewic scent has health giving powers. Such a belief is widespread. The Arabs, for instance, believed in the healing properties of fragrance, particularly as a cure for love sickness. They valued flowers for their scent as much as for their visual beauty. Tamerlane's great opponent, the Sultan Bayezid II, built a wonderful madhouse at Adrianopolis with avenues of roses, vines and fruit trees for the benefit of the sick.¹ In the C. O. F. P. we hear how Cadors, gravely wounded, is healed by the scent of spices in the marvellous tent of Alardin:

Et li soëf odorment
 Des especes et du pieument
 Dont li paveillons estoit plains
 Li fisent ses membres lués sains.²

Fragrance was also believed to sustain the body. In the "Aziz and Aziza" story from 1001 Nights, certain Emirs banquet "with everything that they needed in the way of food, drink and perfumes". This theory is supported by Floire et Blancheflor where it is said that the heroine's breath is so sweet that it can nourish for a week the man who kisses her:

De sa bouche ist sa doce alainne,
 Vivre en puet en une semaine:
 Qui au lundi la beseroit
 En la semaine fain n'avroit.³

There exists a link too, between fragrance and love. The C. O. F. P. offers an example of this. In the prelude to Gauvain's amorous encounter

¹ Gothein, p. 162.

² C. O. F. P. First Continuation, vv. 4195-98. For the healing powers of scent see Renaut de Beaujeu's li Biaus desconneüs, vv.4737-42. For the paradisiacal association, *ibid.*, vv. 4329-32.

³ Floire et Blancheflor, vv. 2660-2663.

with the maiden in the tent, he rides through a beautiful sweet-smelling forest that makes his heart joyful and healthy.¹ A rondeau of Charles d'Orleans² assimilates spring flowers to maidens and says they are so fragrant that every heart grows younger. The implication is that sweet scent puts man in mind also of the youthful season of love.³ Something of all these implications underlies the insistence of the author of Floire et Blancheflor on the sweet scent of the garden.

¹ C. O. F. P. First Continuation, v. 9883.

² Penguin book of French verse, p. 111.

³ There was a further belief that scent also leads to knowledge. According to legend, Jamasp, the minister of Zoroaster's first royal convert, attained all knowledge by inhaling certain perfumes. Boyce, p. 281.

SPICES

Spices have always been a sign of wealth. When, in the Pèlerinage de Charlemagne the Emperor passes through Jerusalem, he is a witness to the "Mirage de l'Orient"; he sees Eastern traders who sell not only rich cloth, but: "Coste, canele, peivre, altres bones espices, / Et maintes bones herbes que jo ne vos sai dire".¹ In the Moniage Guillaume, Landri, a cousin of the hero's, when wrecked on the Sicilian coast, tried to pass himself off as a spice trader. As he tells Synagon, the chief of the Saracens:

Souvent vendons alun, bresil et cire,
Pietre de canele, encens et ricolisse,
Poivre et comin et autre boine espisse.²

And in Galeran there is a splendid description of the festivities at Metz. The streets are alive with the bickerings of money-changers, with "lyons et ours" "es carrefours".³ The houses and streets are strewn with green grass and rushes and mint.⁴ One is aware of the hustle and bustle at the market place that sells no ordinary vegetables but fish, meat, spices and the "cire" sold probably for joyous vigils. At the market were sold: "Plenté de poivre et de coumin, / D'autres espices et de cire".⁵

In the C.O.F.P. the wealth of Biaurepaire is vividly described and is epitomised by what is sold in the market place:

Poivre, cire, poz de metal,
Clox de girofle, citoal,
Espices de maintes manieres,
Qui precieuses sont et chieres.⁶

¹ Pèlerinage de Charlemagne, vv. 211-212.

² Moniage Guillaume, vv. 3396-98.

³ Galeran, vv. 3385-86.

⁴ Ibid., vv. 3420-22.

⁵ Ibid., vv. 3370-71.

⁶ C. O. F. P., Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 23026-28.

It is interesting to note that metal pots and wax are listed together with precious spices. Most cooking utensils were then made of wood, and to defeat the natural day of the sun by means of wax torches or candles was a sign of wealth. Ladurie writes that a certain man of Montaignou, about to celebrate the vigil of St. Julian was mocked by the local Lord: "Ho, vous aller faire de la lumière sur vos murs?"¹

Spices had many uses; for example, they were used against the stench of the decaying false Guinevere,² or frequently for the concoction of potions. In Gerbert de Montreuil a lady makes a wonderful brew of spices that she carried in an "almosniere riche et bele" close to her heart. These were cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg "Et grains de deus pomes grenates / Qui sain estoient et vermeil".³ These she had crushed in a mortar and mixed with wine. This "caudel" was given to Leander to drink so that within three days he was completely healed, ready for all delights (including battle).⁴ Similar potions, frequently called, in the old sense "poison" were administered with a view to "enchantment", thus the "philtre" in Tristan or that in Cliges. Fenice's nurse is called Thessala because she comes

¹ Montaignou, p. 494. See also pp. 374, 414, 488, 491 for the use of wax.

² Sommer, vol. 4, p. 73.

³ Gerbert de Montreuil, vv. 11516-17.

⁴ Ibid., vv. 11524-26.

from Thessaly where the occult arts of "nigromance" are taught and she is wise in them.¹ She mixes a "poison", a delicious brew made from a mixture of spices. ("Espices i met a foison").² Cligès administers it to his uncle the Emperor, unaware of its virtue. The Emperor drinks of it freely and is "gabez"³ so that he believes he actually sleeps with Fenice when it is but a dream. Rabanus Maurus glosses "aromata" as "viri sancti"⁴ because of their fecundity, and this is the operative word in our context; spices were truly considered strong and powerful, "fecund".

¹ Cligès, vv. 2964-68.

² Ibid., v. 3010.

³ Ibid., v. 3286.

⁴ Migne, P.L., v. 112, col. 866.

SQUARE

The square has been used almost universally as the ideal geometric figure, perhaps because of the elementary nature of its axes. It appears in the most ancient literature that has come down to us, the Epic of Gilgamesh dating from the third millenium before Christ: Humbaba's forest which the hero and his friend Enkidu have to penetrate, measures 10,000 leagues in each direction.¹ The square is found again on Mesopotamian clay tablets and is, the figure of the base of the pyramids. The camps of ancient China were oriented towards the four zodiacal quarters for they were modelled on the imperial city which, in turn, was based on the configuration of the heavens.² Roman troops used the "quadriga" formation, and plans of the "castra" at least until the second century A.D., also stood four square³ and appear to bear traces of their ritual origin. The four great temple complexes of the Mayas which include to the east Tikal in Guatamala and to the west Copan in Honduras, pointed towards the cardinal points, and from recent excavation it would seem that their villages were drawn up at points that resemble the intersections of a grid of squares around the major temples.⁴

According to Celtic tradition otherworld castles had four towers at the four corners. Loomis quotes from the Spoils of Annwfn xxx in the book of Taliesin: "my song was heard in the four-cornered four-sided city", and he also gives a pre-Norman reference to Annwfn, the Celtic otherworld, as "the four cornered city, the mighty defence of the island".⁵ Particularly the latter quotation seems to make null and void the assumption that Celtic otherworld castles were influenced by those actually built by

¹ Epic of Gilgamesh, chap. 2.

² Huizinga, p. 119.

³ Seyffert, pp. 117-119.

⁴ Information supplied by Jorge de la Lima from Science, 1 June 1973, vol. 180, no. 4089.

⁵ Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, p. 16.

the Franks.

The Frankish castles, like those of the Muslims, copied the Byzantine "castella", which since the first century A.D. had been built on a regular plan with four keeps and a central donjon or with the donjon as a larger tower at one of the corners.¹ According to Robert de Clari, Constantinople itself formed a perfect square.²

During the middle ages the square is often found in literature. In Perceval, Chrétien de Troyes, describes the magical castle of the Fisher-King: "quarree fu de roch bise" and it encloses a great hall, it too square" "ele ert autant longue come lee".³ Andreas Capellanus uses the same figure to describe the palace of love: "in the middle of the world there is built a palace with four very beautiful facades, and in each of these there is a marvellously beautiful door".⁴ The doors face the cardinal points and each one has a precise symbolism based on the code of courtly love. The description of Biaurepaire in the C. O. F. P. offers a splendid description of a medieval castle with its central keep and four flanking towers: the central keep is "vermoille" and the others white as snow upon the branch; a sea, rich with fishes of different sorts, laps at its feet; its thriving market has already been mentioned.⁵ Closely similar is the castle of the final section of the first part of the Roman de la Rose. Both seem to be a direct souvenir of Frankish castles. In medieval

¹ See especially Deschamps, pp. 46-47.

² La Conquete de Constantinope LXXVII ...

³ Perceval, vv. 3054 and 3084.

⁴ Andreas Capellanus, p. 73.

⁵ C. O. F. P., Second Continuation, ms. E, vv. 23026-28.

descriptions square towers abound: Carlion of the C. O. F. P. has a square keep,¹ and the "tour de Bofois" in the same book where the magician Elïavrés and the queen make merry is also described as square.² Montbrun, the castle belonging to Brunissen follows the same tradition: it possesses a central donjon, has crenellated ramparts and towers and houses five hundred maidens.³ The "tour d'antiquité" or "tour des puceles" of Floire et Blancheflor is yet another example. It is marvellously constructed of marble and precious woods, has an amazing water system that has outlets in every room and it houses the twenty-seven concubines of the Emir.

Some of the descriptions mentioned above are undoubtedly based on actual Frankish castles, but there does seem to have been a cross-fertilization with the Biblical tradition of the celestial Jerusalem of Revelations 21:12-17, especially v. 16: "The plan of the city is perfectly square, its length the same as its breadth", and with the description of the hall of the Holy of Holies built by Solomon: "its length across the width of the Great Hall was 20 cubits, and its width 20 cubits".⁴ Such a connection is made in an earlier version of the "City of Brass" story from 1001 Nights. The tenth century Chronicle of Tabari states: "J'ai appris que dans un certain désert d'Andalous il y a une ville d'Airain qui a dix milles de longueur et autant de largeur, et dans laquelle se trouvent les trésors et les livres de Solomon (que la paix sur lui!)"⁵ Solomon

¹ C. O. F. P. First Continuation, v. 4387.

² Ibid., v. 6188.

³ Jaufre, vv. 1625-1672.

⁴ 2 Chronicles, 3:8.

⁵ Mia Gerhardt, The Art of Storytelling, p. 216.

was the man to whom the fountain of liquid bronze was given and he caused demons to build from it a city as a store place for his treasure in the furthestest desert of "el-Andalûs", probably not the Iberian peninsula which was then more fertile than now, but in the desert of Egypt. Here we have perfection in form despite the horror of the story.

Although many early manuscript illuminations depict the garden, especially the Mary Garden, as round this seems to have been done partly because of the difficulty of perspective. A square shape is far more common in literary descriptions, sometimes associated with the marvellous¹ but more importantly with perfection of form. Later the word itself "square" is used to indicate the land between buildings, but the custom of planting such an area as a garden apparently dates only from the seventeenth century.²

¹ For instance Wace in the Roman de Brut, vv. 9538-44, mentions one of the marvels of Britain, a perfectly square lake 20' long, 20' wide and 5' deep. There are four different kinds of fish at the four corners and though there is no barrier that one can see or touch, the fish from one corner never mingle with those from a different corner.

² O. E. D., "Square".

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Adam le Bossu. Le Jeu de la Feuillée. Edité par Ernest Langlois, deuxième édition revue. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1951.
- Albertus Magnus (wrongly attributed to). The Book of Secrets. Ed. Best & Brightman. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974.
- Albertus Magnus. De Vegetabilibus. Capitulum XIV: "De plantatione viridariorum". Meyer & Jessen edd. Berlin, 1867.
- Altercatio Phyllidis et Florae. Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse. Ed. Stephen Gaselee. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928.
- Amadas et Ydoine: roman du XIIIe siècle. Edité par John R. Reinhard. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1926.
- Ami et Amile: Chanson de Geste. Publiée par Peter F. Dembowski. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, éditeur 1969.
- Arnaut de Carcasses. "Novas del papagai": Chrestomathie provençale. Ed. Karl Bartsch, col. 283 ff. Sixième édition entièrement refondue par Eduard Koschwitz. Slatkine reprints Genève, Laffitte reprints Marseille, 1973. Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourelles. Leipzig: Vogel, 1870.
- L'Atre Périlleux: roman de la Table Ronde. Edité par Brian Woledge. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1936.
- Aucassin et Nicolette. Ed. with intro. and notes by F.W. Bourdillon. Manchester Univ. Press, (1919) 1970.
- Baudri of Dole. Baldrieus, Dolensis episc. 1130. Migne P.L. CLXVI, cols. 1173-1182.
- Béroul. Roman de Tristan. Société des Anciens Textes Français. Publié par Ernest Muret. Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot et Cie., 1903, (Johnson reprint 1965).
- Béroul. The Romance of Tristan. Vols. 1 & 2. Ed. by Alfred Ewert. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971 (vol. 1), 1970 (vol. 2).
- Boccaccio, Giovanni. Dal Decameron e dalle opere minori. "Introduzione alla Terza Giornata". Ed. Carlo Grahber. Torino: Editrice Libreria Italiana, 1942.
- Capellanus. Art of Courtly Love. Trans. J.J. Perry. New York: Frederick Ungar, (1941) 1964.
- Capitulare de Villis Imperialibus. Migne P.L. vol. XCVII, cap. 70, col. 347.

- Cassiodorus. Institutio Divinarum Litterarum. Lib. 1, cap. XXI. Migne P. L. vol. 70, col. 1146.
- Chansons Satiriques et Bachiques du XIIIe siècle. Editées par A. Jeanroy et A. Langfors. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore Champion, éditeur 1921.
- Chaucer. The Complete Works of: Troilus & Criseyde. Ed. Rev. Walter W. Skeat. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919.
- Le Chevalier au Barisel: conte pieux du XIIIe siècle. Edité d'après tous les manuscrits connus par Félix Lecoy. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore Champion, éditeur 1955.
- Chretien de Troyes. Le Chevalier au Lion. Publié par Mario Roques. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore Champion, éditeur 1960.
- Chretien de Troyes. Le Chevalier de la Charette. Publié par Mario Roques. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie Honore Champion, éditeur 1975.
- Chrétien de Troyes. Cliges. Publié par Alexandre Micha. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore Champion, éditeur 1957.
- Chrétien de Troyes. Erec et Enide. Publié par Mario Roques. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie Honore Champion, éditeur 1973.
- Chronicle of Morea: Crusaders as conquerors. Trans. from the Greek, with notes and intro. by H.E. Lurier. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1964.
- Claudian. Epithalamium. De Nuptiis Honorii Augusti (de nuptiis honorii et mariae). Trans. Maurice Platnauer. Loeb Classical Library. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1922.
- Colin Muset. Les Chansons de Colin Muset. Editées par Joseph Bédier. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore Champion, éditeur 1912.
- Columella, Lucius Junius Moderatus. On Agriculture (de Re Rustica). With a recension of the text and an English trans. by Harrison Boyd Ash; E.S. Forster; Edward H. Heffner. Loeb Classical Library. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1941-1954.
- Conon de Bethune: Chansons de. Editées par Axel Wallensköld. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore Champion, éditeur 1921.
- Corte Barbe. Les trois aveugles de Compiègne: fabliau du XIIIe siècle. Edité par Georges Gougenheim. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Edouard Champion, éditeur 1932.
- Courtois d'Arras: Jeu du XIIIe siècle. Edité par Edmond Faral. Deuxième édition revue. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore Champion, éditeur 1922.
- Crescenzi, Pietro de'. Piero Crescenzio de agricultura vulgare (Colophon Impressum Venetiis die sexto mesis Septembris anno dne. MDXI.) Brit. Mus. Cat. attributes the printings to Johannes Rubeus: "probably Venice Joh. Rubeus, Albertinus & Bernardinus Verzellenses, 6th Sept. 1511. Woodcuts are the same as those in Venice edition May 1495 and were used again in the edition of 9th July 1519, L. 226-233 in handwritten facsimile."

- Einhard. B. Caroli Magni Imperatoris Vita, auctore Einhardo. Migne P. L., vol. 97.
- Le Fabel dou dieu d'Amors. M. P. vol. VIII, 1910-11, pp. 63-86.
- Floire et Blancheflor. Ed. critique avec commentaire de Margaret Pelan. Paris: Société d'édition: Les Belles Lettres, 1937.
- Fortunatus. De horto Ultrogothonis reginae v. 2. Carm. lib. VI, 6. Migne P. L. vol. 88, col. 226.
- Fortunatus, M.G.H. Auctorum antiquissimorum, tomi IV, pars prior.
- Gautier d'Aupais: Poème courtois du XIIIe siècle. Edité par Edmond Faral. Class Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur, 1919.
- Gerbert de Montreuil. La Continuation de Perceval. Tomes 1 & 2. Editée par Mary Williams. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1922. Tome 3, édite par Marguerite Oswald. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, éditeur 1975.
- Gilgamesh. The Epic of Gilgamesh: an English version with an intro. by N.K. Sandars. Reprinted with revisions. The Penguin Classics. Harmondsworth: Penquin, 1964.
- Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence. La Vie de Saint Thomas Becket. Editée par Emmanuel Walberg. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, editeur 1936.
- Gui de Warewic: Roman du XIIIe siècle. Edité par Alfred Ewert. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Edouard Champion, éditeur 1932.
- Guilhem de Cabestanh: Les Chansons de. Editées par Artur Langfors. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Edouard Champion, éditeur 1924.
- Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun. Le Roman de la Rose. Tomes 1-3. Publié par Felix Lecoy. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, éditeur 1973-76.
- Guillaume de Saint-Pathus: confesseur de la Reine Marguerite. Les Miracles de Saint Louis. Edités par Percival B. Fay. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1931.
- Fifty Poems of Hafiz. Texts and translations collected and made, introduced and annotated by Arthur J. Arberry.
- Hafiz of Shiraz: Thirty Poems trans. by Peter Avery & John Heath-Stubbs. Albemarle St., London: John Murray, 1952.
- Hildebert of le Mans. De ornatu mundi. Migne P. L. vol. CLXXI, col. 1235 ff.
- Honorius d'Autun. "De Paradiso in quo homo a Deo locatus est ...". Migne P. L. vol. 172, col. 1117, no. 13.
- Huon de Bordeaux: Chanson de Geste. Edite par Pierre Ruelle. Trans. Audiau. Bruxelles: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960.

- Huon le Roi. Le Vair Palefroi avec deux versions de La Male Honte par Huon de Cambrai et Guillaume: fabliaux du XIIIe siècle. Edités par Artur Langfors. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1912.
- Jaufre. Les Troubadours. Trad. de René Lavaud et René Lelli. Desclée de Brouwer, série Bibliothèque Européenne, n. p. 1960.
- Jean Bodel: trouvère artésien du XIIIe siècle. Le Jeu de Saint Nicolas. Edité par Alfred Jeanroy. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Edouard Champion, éditeur 1925.
- Jehan le Teinturier d'Arras. Le Mariage des sept Arts: suivi d'une version anonyme. Poèmes français du XIIIe siècle. Edités par Artur Langfors. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, Edouard Champion, 1923.
- Jongleurs et troubadours Gascons des XIIe XIIIe siècles. Matériaux édités par Alfred Jeanroy. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1923.
- Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris. Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France. Vol. 1 & 2. Par M.M. Michaud. Paris: Didier et Cie. Libraires-éditeurs, 1857.
- Macrembolites, Eumathios. Hymène et Hyménos: Erotici scriptores graeci. Recognovit Rudolphus Herzer. Tomus alter. Lipsiae in aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1859.
- Medieval English Verse. Trans. with an intro. by Brian Stone. Penguin Classics. Founder editor E.V. Rieu. Editors: Robert Baldrick, C.A. Jones, Betty Radice.
- Methodius. The Symposium: A treatise on chastity. Trans. and annotated by Herbert Musurillo. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958.
- Moniage Guillaume: Les deux rédactions en vers du. Chansons de Geste du XIIe siècle. Publiées d'après tous les manuscrits connus par Wilhelm Cloetta. Tome premier Texte. Société des Anciens Textes Français Paris: Librairie Firmin-Didot et Cie., 1904.
- Mort Artu. Edited by J. Douglas Bruce, Ph. D. Halle: Niemeyer, 1910.
- La Mule sans Frein in Two old French Romances. Ed. R.C. Johnston & D.D.R. Owen. Edinburgh & London: Scottish Academic Press, 1972.
- Ovid. Metamorphoses. Vols. 1 & 2. English trans. Frank Justus Miller. Loeb Classical Library. London: Heinemann, 1956.
- Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne. Ed. Jules Horrent. Paris: Société d'Édition: Les Belles Lettres, 1961.
- Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne: Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinople. Ein altfranzösisches Hildengedicht herausgegeben von weil. Dr. Eduard Koschwitz. Siebenter, unveränderter abdruck der fünften auflage besorgt von weil. Dr. Gustav Thureau. Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1923.

- Perdigon: Les Chansons de. Editées par H.J. Chaytor. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1926.
- Philippe de Novare. Memoires 1218-1243. Edités par Charles Kohler. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1913.
- Saint Pierre Damien et Saint Bruno de Querfurt. Textes primitifs camaldules ("La vie du bienheureux Romuald" et "La vie des Cinq freres"). Trad par le R. p. L.-A. Lassus. Intro. par le Rme p. Giabiani. Namur, Ed. du Soleil Levant, 1962, (Les ecrits des saints).
- Platearius. Circa Istans. Le livre des Simples Medecines. Trad. du Liber de simplici medicini dictus Circa Istans de Platearius. Ed. Dr. Paul Dorveaux. A Paris chez le Secretaire général de la Societe' francaise d'histoire de la médecine, 1913.
- Plinius Caecilius Secundus, Caius. Letters. Vols. 1 & 2. English trans. by W. Melmoth; rev. by W.M.L. Hutchinson. Loeb Classical Library. London, 1915.
- Pliny. The Letters of the Younger. Trans. with and intro. by Betty Radice. Marmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., (1963) 1971.
- Pliny. Natural History. Vols. 1-9. Trans. J. Rackham, W.H.S. Jones, D.E. Eicholz. Loeb Classical Library. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1963-1971.
- Prudentius. The Daily Round. Vols. 1 & 2. English trans. H.J. Thomas, Loeb Classical Library. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1953.
- La Queste del Saint Graal: roman du XIIIe siècle. Edité par Albert Pauphilet. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1923.
- Rabanus Maurus. Allegoriae in Sacram Scripurae. Migne P. L. vol. 112, cols. 549-1086.
- Rabanus Maurus. De paradiso. Migne P. L. vol. III, cap. III, p. 334.
- Rabanus Maurus. De plantatione paradisi et quattuor fluminum dursione. Migne P. L. vol. 107, cap. XII, pp. 476-80.
- Renart, Jean. Galeran. Edité Lucien Foulet. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Edouard Champion, éditeur 1925.
- Renart, Jean. Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole. Edité par Felix Lecoy. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1962.
- Renaut de Beaujeu. Le Bel Inconnu. Edité par G. Perrie Williams. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1929.
- La Resurrection du Sauveur: fragment de jeu. Edité par Jean Gray Wright. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Edouard Champion, éditeur 1931.

- Roach, William. Continuations of the Old French Perceval of Chrétien de Troyes. Vols. 1, 2, 3 (part 1 & 2), 4. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, (1949) 1965.
- Robert de Boron. Le Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal. Edité par William A. Nitze. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion éditeur 1927.
- Robert de Clari. La Conquête de Constantinople. Editée par Philippe Lauer. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Edouard Champion, éditeur 1924.
- Le Roman de Renart, première branche. Editée d'après le ms. de Cange par Mario Roques. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1948.
- Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut. Renouvelé par Joseph Bédier. Paris: P. Sevin et E. Rey, n. d.
- Le Roman de Troie en prose. Tome 1. Edité par L. Constans et E. Faral. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, Edouard Champion, éditeur 1922.
- Rutebeuf. Dit de l'herberie in Gassies des Brulies: Anthologie du Théâtre français. Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1927.
- Rutebeuf. Le Miracle de Théophile: miracle du XIIIe siècle. Edité par Grace Frank. Paris: Librairie ancienne Edouard Champion, éditeur 1925.
- Sadi. The Rose Garden of Shekh Muslihu-ddin Sadi of Shiraz. Trans. by Edward B. Eastwick. London: Octagon Press Ltd., 1974.
- Sommer, H.O. The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romance. Vols. 1-7. Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1908-13.
- Status. Vols. 1 & 2. Trans. J.H. Mozley, Loeb Classical Library. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1928.
- Strabo, Walahfrid. Hortulus ad Grimaldum Monasterii Sancti Galli Abatum. Migne P. L. vol. 114, col. 1120 ff.
- Tibullus. Elegies. Ed. and trans. by Guy Lee. Published by Guy Lee. Cambridge: St. John's College, 1975.
- Varro Marcus Terentius. M. Terenti Varronis Rerum Rusticarum. libri tres; trans. with intro., commentary and excursus by L. Storr-Best. London: Bell, 1912.
- Villehardouin. La Conquete de Constantinople. Ed. et traduite par Edmond Faral, (deuxième éd. revue et corrigée), Société d'Edition : Les Belles Lettres, 1961, Paris.
- Villon, Francois. Oeuvres de. Publiées avec préface, notes et glossaire par Paul Lacroix. Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1877.
- Virgil. Opera. Trans. R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

- Virgil. The Works of Virgil. Trans. James Lonsdale & Samuel Lee. London: MacMillan & Co., 1920.
- Wace. Le Roman de Brut. Vols. 1 & 2. Ed. Ivor Arnold. Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1938-40.

.

Secondary Sources

- Adams, A. "Amadas et Ydoine and Tristan". F. M. L. S. vol. XIV, 1978, pp. 246-54.
- Akehurst, Frank Ronald Powell. A Comparative Study of Two Twelfth Century French Poets, Bernart de Ventadour and Gace Brule. Ann Arbor, Univ. Microfilms, 1970. Ph. D. Thesis, Univ. of Colorado, 1967.
- *Americ, M. Storia dei Mussulmani in Sicilia. Florence, 1872.
- Amherst, The Hon. Alicia. A History of Gardening in England. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1896.
- Apuleius. The Golden Ass: being the Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius. English trans. W. Adlington 1566, revised by S. Gaselee. Loeb Classical Library. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1915.
- Arber, Agnes. Herbals their origin & evolution: a chapter in the history of botany. Cambridge: C. U. P., (1938) 1953.
- Ausonius. Vols. I & II. Ed. Hugh & Evelyn White. Loeb Classical Library. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1919.
- Bachelard, Gaston. L'Eau et les Reves. Paris: Librairie José Corti, (1942) 1974.
- Balis, Jean. Hortus Belgicus. Bruxelles: Bibliothèque Alberti, 1962.
- Bar, F. "Sur un episode d'Aucassin et Nicolette: Rom. vol. 67, 1942-1943, pp. 369-70.
- Barabino, G. Le Fonti classiche dell "Hortulus" di Valafrido Strabo. I Classici nel Medioevo e nell' Umanesimo. Miscellanea filologica. Genoa (Istituto di Filologia Classica e Medioevale), 1975.
- *Baring-Gould. Curious Myths of the Middle Ages. London: Longmans Green, 1914.
- Bartsch, Karl. Chrestomathie Provençale: (Xe - XVe siècles) Sixième édition entièrement refondue par Eduard Koschwitz. Slatkine reprints Geneva. Lafitte reprints Marseille, 1973.
- *Bausani, A. "La rappresentazione della natura nel poeta persiano Hafiz". Oriente Moderno vol. XXIII, 1943.
- Bayley, Harold. The Lost Language of Symbolism. London and Tonbridge: Ernest Benn Ltd. New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield Ltd., (1912) 1968.

- Bayrav, Süheyîâ. Symbolisme médiéval: Béroul, Marie, Chrétien. Paris: P. U. F., 1957.
- *Becker, E.J. Medieval Visions of Heaven & Hell. Baltimore, 1899.
- Behling, Lottelisa. Die Pflanzenwelt der Mittelalterlichen Kathedralen. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1964.
- Beichner, Paul E. "The Grain of Paradise". Spec. 26, 1961, p. 302.
- Benedict. Rule of Saint Benedict. Ed. and trans. Abbot Justin McCann. London: Burns Oates, 1952.
- Bergin, Thos. G. Anthology of Provençal Troubadours. Vols. 1 & 2. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1973.
- Berrall, Julia S. The Garden: An Illustrated History. Penguin Books, 1978.
- Bezzola, Reto Roberto. Le sens de l'aventure et de l'amour: Chrétien de Troyes. Paris: Le Jeune Parque, 1947.
- Bezzola, Reto Roberto. "Guillaume IX et les origines de l'amour courtois". Rom. LXVI, 1940, pp. 145-237.
- Bezzola, Reto Roberto. Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en occident. Biblio. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, vol. 286, 1944.
- Biese, Alfred. The Development of the Feeling for Nature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times. London, 1905. New York: Burt Franklin, 1961.
- Bloch, Marc. Les Caractères Originaux de l'Histoire Rurale Française: supplément établi d'après les travaux de l'auteur 1931-44 par Robert Dauvergne. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1961.
- Bloch, Marc. La société Féodale: Les classes et le gouvernement des hommes. Series: L'évolution de l'humanité, synthèse collective, dirigée par Henri Berr. Editions Albin Michel, Paris, 1949.
- Boyce, Mary. A History of Zoroastrianism. Vol. 1. (Handbuch de Orientalistik) Leiden, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1975.
- Brett, Gerard. "The Automata in the Byzantine 'Throne of Solomon'". Spec. 29, 1954, p. 477.
- Brooke, Christopher. Les monastères: 1000-1300. Trad. de l'anglais par Robert Latour. "The monastic world: 1000-1300". Paris: A. Michel, cop. 1979.
- Brown, Arthur C.L. "Ivain". Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology & Literature. Vol. VIII.
- Brown, Arthur C.L. "The Knight of the Lion". P. M. L. A. XX, 1905, p. 673.
- Brown, John Croumbie. French Forest Ordnance of 1669. London: Oliver & Boyd, 1883.
- Browne, Sir Thomas. Religio Medici & other writings. 1965 intro. by M.R. Ridley. Everyman's Library. London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., (1906) 1969.

- Cames, Gerard. Allégories et symboles dans l'Hortus Deliciarum. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971.
- Cames, Gerard. "Les grands ateliers d'enluminure religieuse en Alsace à l'époque romane". Cahiers de l'Art Medieval vol. V, Fascicule 1, 1967.
- *Cenac-Moncaut, J.E.M. Les Jardins du Roman de la Rose comparés avec ceux de Romains et ceux du Moyen Age. Paris, 1869.
- Chadwick, Nora K. The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church. London: O. U. P., 1961.
- Chailley, J. Histoire Musicale du Moyen Age. Paris: P. U. F., 1950.
- La Chanson de Roland. J.H. Ed. Heitz. Imprimeur Editeur. Strasbourg, n.d.
- Charageat, Marguerite. L'Art des Jardins. Paris: P. U. F., 1962.
- Charageat, Marguerite. "Le Parc d'Hesdin: Création monumentale du XIIIe siècle". Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 1950, pp. 94-106.
- La Chastelaine de Vergi: poème du XIIIe siècle. Edité par Gaston Raymond. Troisième édition revue par Lucien Foulet. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore' Champion, éditeur 1921.
- Chaytor, H.R. From Script to Print: an introduction to Medieval Vernacular literature. Cambridge: Heffner, (1945) 1950.
- Cherniss, Michael D. "Irony and authority. The ending of the Roman de la Rose". M. L. Q. vol. 36, 1975, pp. 227-38.
- Cipriani, Lisi. "Studies in the influence of the Roman of the Rose upon Chaucer". P. M. L. A. vol. XXII, 1907, pp. 552-95.
- Clark, Kenneth. Landscape into Art. First edition 1949, reprinted (3rd. impression) London: John Murray, 1952.
- Clifford, Derek. History of Garden Design. London: Faber & Faber, 1962.
- *Closs, Hannah Priesbach. "The Visionary Landscape". The Aryan Path, May 1955.
- Coats, Peter. Roses. London: Widenfeld and Nicolson, 1962. 3rd. impression printed Germany, Frankfurt-am-Maine: K.G. Lohse, Graphischen Grossbetrieb, 1970.
- Coffin, David R. The Italian Garden. Dumbarton Oaks, 1972.
- Cohen, G. Chrétien de Troyes et son oeuvre. En vente L. Rodstein, Paris, 1948.
- Cohen, G. Chrétien de Troyes. Paris, 1931.
- Conner, W. "The Loge in Aucassin et Nicolette." R.R. vol. 45-46, 1954-55, pp. 81-89.

- Cook, G.H. English Monasteries in the Middle Ages. London: Phoenix House, 1961.
- Coulet, Noël. "Pour une histoire du jardin". Vergers & potagers à Aix-en-Provence: 1350-1450. M.A. tome 73, 1967, pp. 239-270.
- Crisp, Sir Frank. Medieval Gardens. Vols. 1 & 2. First published 1924, reprinted New York: Hacker Art Books, 1966.
- Crombie, A.C. Augustine to Galileo. London: Wm. Heinemann, (1952) 1961.
- Crowe, Sylvia, Sheila Haywood, Susan Jellicoe, Gordon Patterson. The Gardens of Mugal India: A History and a Guide. London: Thames & Hudson, 1972.
- Culler, Jonathan. Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics and the Study of Literature. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.
- The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning. Proceedings of the First International Colloquium of Philosophy, Science and Theology in the Middle Ages, Sept. 1973. Ed. with an intro. by John Emery Murdoch and Edith Dudley Sylla, Dordrecht: E. Reidel, 1975. (Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science; XXVI).
- Cunliffe, Barry. Fishbourne: A Roman Palace & its Garden. Thames & Hudson, 1971. Published Switzerland: Fabag & Drückerei Winterthur A.G.
- Curtius, Ernst Robert. European Literature & the Latin Middle Ages. Trans. from the German by Willard R. Trask. First published Berne: A. Franck A.G. Verlag, 1948, as Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter. First published England, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1953.
- Dahlberg, Charles. "Love in the Roman de la Rose". Spec. vol. 44, 1969. pp. 568-84.
- Davidson, H.R. Ellis. The Viking Road to Byzantium. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1976.
- de Coste, Abbe H. Flore descriptive et illustré de la France. Tomes 1-3 Paris: Librairie scientifique et technique, 1937.
- *de Fouchécour, C.-H. La description de la nature dans la poésie lyrique persane du XIe siècle: Inventaire et analyse des Thèmes. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck. 1969.
- *de Ganay, Ernest. Les Jardins en France et leur décor. Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1949.
- *de Nolhac, P. "Petrarch et son jardin". Turin: Giorn. Stor. Lett. Italiana, 1889.
- de Riquer, C. Martin. Los Trovadores: Historia literaria y textos. Vols. 1-3. Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1975.
- de Ronsard, Pierre. Poèmes choisis et commentés par André Barbier, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1972.
- de Rougemont, Denis. L'Amour et L'Occident. Librairie Plan, (1939) 1972.

- Deschamps, P. Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Gauthner. Vol. 1: Le Crac des Chevaliers, Paris 1934.
Vol. 2: La Défence du Royaume de Jerusalem, Paris 1939.
- Dickinson, J.C. Monastic Life in Medieval England. London: A. et Ch. Black, 1961.
- Dimier, Fr. Marie-Ansolme. Le Mot "locus" employé dans le sens de monastère. Ligugé: Revue Mabillon LVIII, 1972.
- Duft, J. Studien zum St. Galler Klosterplan, hrsg. von J. Duft (...) in memoriam Hans Bessler, St. Gallen, Febr., 1962. Mitteilungen zur vaterländischer Geschichte, 42.
- Dupire, Noël. Jean Molinet La vie - les oeuvres. Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1932.
- Ebersolt, J. Orient et Occident: Recherches sur les influences byzantines et orientales en France avant les Croisades. Deuxième édition. Paris: E. de Boccard, éditeur, 1954.
- Economou, George D. The Goddess Natura in medieval literature. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1972.
- Economou, George D. "Januarie's sin against nature: the Merchant's Tale and the Roman de la Rose". C. L. vol. 17, 1965.
- Edwards, A. Cecil. The Persian Carpet. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., (1953) 1967.
- Eliade, Mircea. Mythes, Rêves et Mystères. n.p. Gallimard, 1957.
- Eliade, Mircea. Traité d'histoire des Religions. Paris: Petite Bibliothèque Payot, 1975.
- Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. "Giardino". Vol. XXXV, indici, 4 vols. appendice. Edizione 1949. Istituto della En. It. fondata da Giovanni Trecciani, Roma.
- Encyclopedia of Islam: dictionary of the geography, ethnography & biography of the Muhammadan peoples. Ed. M.T. Houtsma (& others).
- Book of Enoch. Trans. R.H. Charles, with an intro. by W. O. E. Oesterley. London: S. P. C. K., 1917.
- Fanler, Dean S. Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose. Col. Univ., 1913. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965.
- Faral, Edmond. Les Arts Poétiques aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles. Class Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie Honore Champion, 1963.
- Faral, Edmond. "La Pastourelle". Rom. vol. XLIX, 1923, pp. 204-59.
- Faral, Edmond. Recherches sur les sources latines des Contes et Romans courtois du Moyen Age. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie Honore Champion, éditeur 1967.
- Faral, Edmond. "La Roman de la Rose et la pensée Fr. du XIIIe siècle". Revue des deux mondes, Paris, Sept.-Oct., 1926, pp. 430-457.

- Favati, Guido. "Una treccia de cultura neoplatonica in Chrétien de Troyes: Il tema degli occhi come specchio". Studi sulla letteratura medievale, parte prima. Studi in onore di Carlo Pellegrini. Biblioteca di Studi Francesi, 2.
- La Fille du Comte de Pontieu: nouvelle du XIIIe siècle. Editée par Clovis Brunel. Class. Fr. Moy. Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, éditeur 1926.
- La filosofia della natura nel medioevo. Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale, III, Mendola, 1964. Atti del Terzo Congresso internazionale di filosofia medioevale Mendola ... 1964. Milano, Vita e pensiero, 1966.
- Fitzell, John. The Hermit in German Literature from Lessing to Eichendorff. Studies in the Germanic Languages & Literatures, 30. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1961.
- Flanery, David A. "Trees in the Song of Roland". Les Bonnes Feuilles. Vol. 5 (2), Spring, pp. 3-13, 1976.
- Fleming, John V. Roman de la Rose: a study in allegory & iconography. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton U. P., 1969.
- Fontaine, Anthony Jacques. "Trois variations de Prudence sur le thème du Paradis". Forschungen zur römischen Literatur, (Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Karl Buchner). Ed. W. Wimmel. Wiesbaden, 1970. Vol. 1.
- Foulet, Lucien. "Galeran et Jean Renart". Rom. LI, 1925, pp. 76-104.
- Fox, Joan. A Literary History of France: The Middle Ages. London: Ernest Bent Ltd., 1974.
- Franceschini, Ezio. La Figura dell' eremita nella letteratura latina medioevale, in L'Eremitismo in Occidente nei sec. XI e XII (etc.).
- St. Francis of Assisi. Writings and Early Biographies. Trans. by Raphael Brown, Benen Fahy, Placid Hermann, Paul Oligny, Nesta de Robeck, Leo Sherley-Price, with a Research Bibliog. by R. Brown. Edited by Marion A. Habig. Franciscan Herald Press. Publishers of Franciscan Lit., Chicago, Illinois 60609.
- Frappier, Jean. Etude sur La Mort le Roi Artu. Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1936.
- Frappier, Jean. "Variations sur le miroir de Bernart de Ventadour à Maurice Scève". Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Etudes Françaises, mai 1959, nu. II. pp. 134-158.
- Frappier, Jean. "Vues sur les conceptions courtoises dans les littératures d'oc et d'oïl au XIIe siècle". C.C.M. tome II, 1959, pp. 135-55.
- Frazer, Sir James George. The Golden Bough. London: MacMillan & Co., (1913) 1980.
- Gelzer, Heinrich. Nature. Zum Einfluss der Scholastik auf den altfranzösischen Roman. Halle: Niemeyer, 1917.

- Genicot, Leopold. "L'Eremitism du XIe siècle dans son contexte économique et social", in L'Eremitismo in Occidente nei sec. XI e XII. Atti della La Settimana internaz. di studio. Mendola, 1962, Milano, 1965, pp. 45-72. Pubblicaz. dell' Univ. cattol. del S. Cuore, 3. 3. 4. Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali, 4.
- Gerhardt, Mia. The Art of Story-Telling: a literary study of the Thousand & One Nights. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963.
- Giamatti, A. Bartlett. The Earthly Paradise & the Renaissance Epic. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton U. P., 1966.
- Gilet, Peter. "Analyse structurale du roman français du XIIe siècle et du conte Kabyle". M.P. Gilet ss. La dir: de P. Bec et P. Gallais.
- Goldin, F. The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric. Cornell Univ. Press, 1967.
- Gothein, Marie Louise. A History of Garden Art. Ed. Walter P. Wright. Trans. Mrs. Archer Hind. First published in English London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1928. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Ltd.
- Gougaud, Dom Louis, O. S. B. Ermites et reclus: Etudes sur d'anciennes formes de vie religieuse. Ligugé: Abbaye Saint Martin, 1928.
- Graf. Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo. Torino, 1892. New York: Burt Franklin, 1971.
- Graham, Rose. "Essay on English Monasteries", in Social Life in Early England. London, 1961, pp. 51-95.
- Grellner, M.A. Crit. of Fleming. Med. Aev. Vol. 42, 1973, pp. 69-73.
- Grieve, M. A Modern Herbal. Edited and intro. by Mrs. C.F. Leyel. London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., (1931) 1974.
- Grimal, Pierre. L'Art des Jardins. Paris: P. U. F., 1974.
- Grimal, Pierre. Les Jardins Romains. Paris: P. U. F., 1969.
- *Gromont, G. L'Art des Jardins. Paris, 1934.
- Gunn, A. M. F. The Mirror of Love: A Reinterpretation of the Romance of the Rose. Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech. Press, 1952.
- Hadfield, Miles. Gardening in Britain. London: Hutchinson, 1960.
- Harden, Arthur Robert. "The Carbuncle in Medieval Literature". R.N. vol. 2, 1960, pp. 58-62.
- Harvey, John. The Medieval Architect. London: Wayland Publishers, 1972.
- Harvey, Sir Paul. The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature. Oxford: Clarendon Press, (1937) 1946.
- Hautecoeur, Louis. Les Jardins des Dieux et des Hommes. n. p. Hachette, 1957.
- Herrade de Landsberg: Le jardin de Délices de l'abbesse Herrade de Landsberg. Près de Auguste Christen. Paris: Colmar: Alsatia, cop. 1968.

- Hesiod. The Works & Days, Theogony, the Shield of Heracles. Trans. by Richmond Lattimore. Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Press, (1959) 1965.
- Hibbard, Laura. "The Sword Bridge of Chrétien de Troyes & its Celtic Original". R. R. IV, p. 166-90.
- Hoepffer, E. "Renart ou Renaut". Rom. LXII, 1936, pp. 196-231.
- Homer. The Odyssey. Trans. by Robert Fitzgerald. London: Granada Publishing Co., 1971.
- Horace: The complete works of. Ed. by Ernest Rhys. Intro. by Dr. John Marshall. Everyman's Library. London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., (1911) 1937.
- *Howard, John Gale. French Gardens (paper read before the American Institute of Architects, 1902).
- Hubel, Reinhard G. The Book of Carpets. Trans. by Katherine Watson. First published Berlin: Verlag Ullstein, GmbH, 1964. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1971.
- Huet, G. "Mélanges. Encore Floire et Blanchefleur". Rom. vol. 35, 1906, pp. 95-100.
- Huet, G. "Sur l'origine de Floire et Blanchefleur". Rom. vol. 28, 1899, pp. 348-57; 439-47.
- Hughes, Robert. Heaven & Hell in Western Art. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968.
- Huizinga, Johan. Homo Ludens: a study of the play element in culture. London: Temple Smith, 1970.
- Humbert, Paul. "Firdausi et la Rose", pp. 49-62. Mélanges offerts a Max Niedermann. Slatkine reprints Geneve, 1972.
- Hutchinson & Melville. The Story of Plants & their Uses to Man. London: P.R. Gawthorn Ltd., 1948.
- Hyams, Edward. A History of Gardens & Gardening. London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1971. Made in Italy by Officine Grafiche, A. Mondadori, Verona.
- Isidore of Seville. Isidor Hispalensis Episcopi. Etymologiarum sive Originum. Ed. William Lindsay. Tomes 1 & 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.
- The Italian Garden. Ed. David Coffin. Eugenio Battisti, "Natura Artificiosa to Natura artificialis". Dumbarton Oaks, 1972.
- *Jalabert, D. La Flore gothique: ses origines, son evolution du XIIe au XVe Siècles. Bulletin Monumentale XCI, 1932.
- Johnston, Francis W. Heart of the Saints. Spectrum Publications, Aust. n.d.
- Johnston, Olivier M. "The description of the Emir's garden in Floire et Blancheflor". Z. r. P. vol. XXXII, 1908, pp. 705-10.
- Johnston, Olivier M. "Two notes on Floire et Blancheflor". Z. r. P. vol. LV, 1935, pp. 197-99.

- Joret, Charles. Les Plantes dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Age. Paris: Librairie Bouillon, éditeur 1897.
- Joret, Charles. La Rose dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Age. Paris, 1892. Reimpression Slatkine reprints Geneve, 1970.
- Jung, Marc-René. "Der Rosenroman in der Kritik seit dem 18. Jahrhundert". Romanische Forschungen LXXVIII, 1966, pp. 203-57.
- Kee, K. "Two Chaucerian Gardens". Mediaeval Studies XXIII, 1961, 155n. Toronto, Canada: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
- Kelly, Amy. "Eleanor of Aquitaine and her courts of love". Spec. vol. XII, No. 1, Jan., 1937.
- Kelly, Douglas. "Li Chastians qu'Amors prist par ses esforz". Kansas Univ. Humanistic Studies 42, 1972, pp. 61-78.
- Kemp-Walsh, Alice. Of Six Mediaeval Women to which is added a note on Mediaeval Gardens. London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1913.
- Kennedy, Angus, J. "The Hermit's role in French Arthurian Romance", (c. 1170-1530). Rom. 95, 1974.
- Kennedy, Phillip Houston. Motif-index of Mediaeval French Epics Derived from Anonymous Sources in the Early twelfth century. Parts 1 & 2. Ann Arbor, Univ. Microfilms, 1970. Ph. D. Thesis, Univ. Nth. Carolina, 1966.
- King, Ronald. The Quest for Paradise. New York: Mayflower Books, 1979.
- Klein, Dr. Ernest. A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. Vols. 1 & 2. Amsterdam, London, New York: Elsevier Publishing Co., 1967.
- Kohler, E. "Narcisse, la Fontaine d'Amour et Guillaume de Lorris". Journal des Savants, Paris, 1963, pp. 86-103.
- Kolb, Herbert. "Oiseuse die Dame mit dem Spiegel". Germanische Romanische Monatschrift, 15, 1965.
- Krappe, Alexander, H. "Amadas et Ydoine". M. L. R. vol. XXXVII, 1942, pp. 367-71.
- Krappe, Alexander, H. "L'enserrement de Merlin". Rom. vol. LX, 1934, pp. 79-85.
- *Lacam, Jean. "Les Jardins suspendus de Babylone". Revue Horticole, juillet-aout, sept.-oct., 1949.
- Langlois, Charles Victor. La Connaissance de la nature et du monde au moyen âge d'après quelques écrits français a l'usage des laïcs. Paris: Hachette, 1911.
- Langlois, Ernest. Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose. Paris: Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et Rome, 1867.
- Laporte, Dom Jean, O. S. B. "Quelques documents sur Fécamp au temps d'Henri de Sully (1149-1189) in Analecta monastica. Textes et études sur la vie de ,pomes ai ,/ a/ Romae, 1962 (Studia anselmiana, 50).

- Laurie, Helen C.R. "Review of F. Goldin's The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric". Med. Aev. vol. 38, 1969, pp. 67-70.
- Lecoy, Felix. "Sur la date du Roman de la Rose". Rom. vol. 89, 1968, pp. 554-55.
- The Legacy of Islam. Ed. Joseph Schacht with C.E. Bosworth. Second edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974. First edition, ed. T. Arnold and A. Guillaume, published 1931.
- Lehner, E. & J. Folklore and symbolism of flowers, plants and trees. New York, 1960.
- Le Merrer-False, Madeleine. "Contribution a une étude du Chevalier au Barisel". M.A. vol. 77, 1971, pp. 263-75.
- Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. Montaillou: village Occitan de 1294 à 1324. Gallimard, 1975.
- Levillain, L. Les Statuts d'Adalhard pour l'abbaye de Corbie (IV-XI siècles). Extr. du Moyen Age, Paris, 1900.
- Levy, Raphael. Chronologie approximative de la litt. française du moyen age. Tubingen: Niemeyer, 1957.
- Lewis, C.S. The Allegory of Love. London: O. U. P., (1936) 1972.
- Loomis, L. Hibbard. "The Swordbridge of Chrétien and its Celtic Original". R. R. vol. 4, 1913, pp. 166-90.
- Loomis, R.S. Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages. Oxford: Clarendon Press, (1959) 1974.
- Loomis, R.S. Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1949.
- Loomis, R.S. "The Visit to the Perilous Castle". M. L. A. vol. XLVIII, 1933, pp. 1000-35.
- Lot, F. "Etudes sur la provenance du Cycle Arthurien". Rom. XXVII, pp. 497-529 et seq. (and Rom. XXIV, p. 502).
- Lot, F. "Notes sur le Moniage Guillaume". Rom. XXVI, 1897, pp. 481-94.
- Louis, Rene. Le Roman de la Rose, essai d'interpretation de l'allegorisme erotique. Paris: Champion, 1974.
- Lowes, J.L. Geoffrey Chaucer. Oxford: Clarendon Press, (1934) 1949.
- The Mabinogion. "Gereint the son of Erbin". Trans. Lady Charlotte Guest. London & Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Ltd.
- Mallet, Robert (Texte de). Jardins et Paradis. n. p. Gallimard, 1959.
- Malone, Kemp. "Rose and Cypress". P. M. L. A. vol. XLIII, 1928, pp. 397-446.
- *Mangin, A. Histoire des Jardins anciens et modernes: dessins etc. Tours, 1887 fol.

- Marçais, George. L'Architecture Musulmane d'Occident: Arts et Métiers Graphiques. Paris, imprimé 1954.
- Masson, Georgina. Italian Gardens. London: Thames & Hudson, 1961. Reprinted Joh. Enschede en zonen Haarlem Holland, 1965.
- Matthews, W.H. Mazes & Labyrinths: A general account of their History & Developments. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1922. Reissued, Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1969.
- Mejean, S. "A propos de l'arbre aux oisiaux dans Yvain". Rom. 91, 1970.
- *Menagier de Paris: traite de morale et d'economie par un bourgeois parisien. Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1846.
- Micha, Alexander. "Lancelot au verger de Cobenic". M.A. 69, 1963 Volume Jubilaire, pp. 381-90.
- Michel, Artur. "The Earliest Dance Manuals". M. et H. 1945, pp. 117-131.
- Migne, J.-P. Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Parisiis apud Garnier Freres, editores et J.-P. Migne Successores, 1879.
- Milan, Paul B. "The Golden Age and the Political Theory of Jean de Meun". Sym. vol. 23, 1969, pp. 137-49.
- Mirov, N.T. The Genus Pinus. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1967.
- Molé, Marijan. Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien: le problème zoroastrien et la tradition mazdéenne. Paris: P. U. F., 1963.
- Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang. Castles of the Crusaders. London: Thames & Hudson, 1966. Trans. from the German Burgen der Kreuzritter by J. Maxwell Brownjohn.
- Muscatine, Charles. "The Emergence of Psychological Allegory in Old French Romance". P. M. L. A. LXVIII, 1953, pp. 1161-1182.
- Mythology. Ed. Pierre Maranda. Penguin Books. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1972.
- McMahon, James. "Enite's Relatives: the girl in the garden". M. L. N. vol. 85, 1970, pp. 362-72.
- Nagel, Rolf. "A propos de Fresne". C.C.M. vol. 261-272, no. 10, 1967, pp. 455-56.
- Newstead, Helaine. "The 'Joie de la Cort' episode in 'Erec' & the horn of Bran". P. M. L. A. LI, 1936, pp. 13-25.
- Nitze, William A. "Erec and the Joy of the Court". Spec. vol. XXIX, 1954, pp. 691-701.
- Nitze, William A. "Yvain and the myth of the fountain". Spec. vol. III, 1955, pp. 170-79.
- Nykl, A.R. Hispano-Arabic poetry & its relations with the old Provencal Troubadours. Baltimore, 1946.

- Paetow, Louis John. A guide to the study of Medieval History. Revised edition, prepared under the auspices of the Medieval Academy of America. New York: Kraus reprint, 1959.
- Pannier, Leopold. Les Lapidaires français du Moyen Age. Slatkine reprints Geneve, 1973.
- Paris, Gaston. "Etudes sur les Romans de la Table Ronde". Rom. vol. X, 1881, pp. 465-96. Rom. vol. XII, 1883, pp. 459-534.
- Paris, Gaston. Review of latin thesis of Josphe Bédier. Rom. XXLL, p. 291.
- Paris, Gaston. Review of "Les Origines de la poesie lyrique en France au moyen âge" by Alfred Jeanroy. Journal des Savants 1891, p. 685 and 1892, p. 424.
- Paris, Gaston. Review of Settegeste and "joi" in the songs of the troubadours. Rom. XIX, 159-60.
- Patch, H.R. "Some elements in Mediaeval Descriptions of the Otherworld". P. M. L. A., vol. 33, 1918.
- Patch, H.R. The Otherworld according to descriptions in Mediaeval Literature. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1950.
- Pauphilet, Albert. Le Legs du Moyen Age. Melon, Librairie d'Argences, 1950.
- Payen, Jean Charles. "Structure et sens de la Chatelaine de Vergi". M.A. vol. LXXIX, 1973, pp. 209-30.
- Payen, Jean Charles. "Structure et sens du Chevalier a Barisel". M.A. vol. 77, 1971, pp. 239-62.
- Pearsall, Derek & Salter, Elizabeth. Landscape & Seasons of the Medieval World. London: Paul Elek, 1973.
- Pearson, J.D. A Bibliography of Pre-Islamic Persia. Persian Studies Series. London: Mansell, 1975.
- Philpot, Emmanuel. "Un episode d'Erec et Enide: la Joie de la Cour. Mabon et l'Enchanteur". Rom. XXV 1896, pp. 267, 269; 258-94.
- Piehler, Paul. The Visionary Landscape: A study in Medieval Allegory. London: Edward Arnold, 1971.
- Planche, A. "Comme le pin est plus beau que le charme ..." M.A. 80, 1974, pp. 51-70.
- Poirion, D. "Narcisse et Pygmalion dans le Roman de la Rose". Dizionario critico della litteratura francesca. Torino, 1972.
- Polak, L. "Cligès, Fénice et l'Arbre de l'Amour". Rom. XCIII, 1972, pp. 303-16.
- Post, George E. Flora of Syria, Palestine & Sinai. Vols. 1 & 2. Second edition extensively enlarged and revised by John Edward Dinsmore. American University of Beirut: Publications of the Faculty of Arts & Sciences, 1932.

- Praz, Mario. The Romantic Agony. Trans. from the Italian by Angus Davidson, Geoffrey Cumberledge. London, New York, Toronto: O. U. P., (1933) 1954.
- Rabelais. Oeuvres Complètes: texte établi et annoté par J. Boulenger: éd. rev. et complétée par L. Scheler, Paris, Gallimard, 1955.
- Raby, F.J.E. A History of Secular Latin Poetry. Vols 1 & 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.
- Raby, F.J.E. Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.
- Reed, Howard S. A Short History of Plant Sciences. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1942.
- Reed, J. "La Chatelaine de Vergi: was the heroine married?" R.N. vol. XVI, Autumn 1974, pp. 197-204.
- Reinhard, John R. "Amadas et Ydoine". R.R. 1924, pp. 179-265.
- Reinhard, John R. "The literary background of the Chantefable". Spec. vol. 1, 1926, pp. 157-69.
- Rey, Raymond. Les Traditions orientales dans l'architecture monastique d'Occident (Mélanges Lavedan Pierre). Urbanisme et architecture ... Paris, 1954, pp. 331-40.
- Robertson, D.W., Jnr. The Doctrine of Charity in Mediaeval Literary Gardens: a topical approach through Symbolism & Allegory. Spec. vol. XXVI, pp. 24-49.
- Robertson, Seonaid M. Rosegarden & Labyrinth: A study in Art education. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963.
- Romero, Laurent. "Le Courtois d'Arras et la liberté naissante". R.N. vol. XIII, 1, Autumn 1971, pp. 168-76.
- Roques, Mario. "Compte rendu de Myrrha Borodine. La femme et l'amour au XIIe siècle d'après les poèmes de Chrétien de Troyes". Rom. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 377-383. Also Rom. XLV, 1914, p. 573.
- Roques, Mario. "L'Attitude du héros mourant dans la Chanson de Roland". Rom. vol. LXVI, 1940-41, pp. 355-66.
- Roques, Mario. "Pour le Commentaire d'Aucassin et Nicolette". Rom. LIX, 1933, pp. 426-31.
- Rousset, Paul. "L'Homme en face de la nature à l'époque romane". Extr. des Mélanges offerts à P.E. Martin. Geneve, 1961, pp. 39-48.
- Salmoyn, Paul. "The wild man in 'Ivain' and medieval descriptive technique." M. L. R., vol. 56, 1961, pp. 520-28.
- Schlauch, Margaret. "The Palace of Hugon de Constantinople". Spec. 7, 1932, p. 500.
- Schlosser; Ignaz. The Book of Rugs Oriental and European. Trans. from the German Der Schone Teppich in Orient und Okzident, 1960. New York: Bonanza Books (Crown Publishers), 1963.

- Seyffert, Dr. Oskar. A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, Mythology, Religion, Literature & Art. Revised Nettleship & Sandys. London: Swann Sonnenschein & Co., 1891.
- Shapiro, M. "Figure of the watchman in provençal erotic alba". M. L. N. vol. 91, no. 4, 1947, pp. 607-39.
- *Shepherd, Roy Elmer. History of the Rose. New York: MacMillan, 1954.
- Sinclair Rohde, Eleanor. Herbs & Herb Gardening. London: The Medici Society, 1945.
- Singer, Charles. From Magic to Science. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1958.
- Stith-Thompson. Motif index of Folk-literature. Vols. 1-6. Indiana: Indiana Univ. Press, 1955-58.
- Stone, Donald, Jr. "C.S. Lewis and Lorriss' Lady". R.N. vol. 6, 1964-65, pp. 196-99.
- Stone, Donald, Jr. "Old and new thoughts on Guillaume de Lorriss". Aust. Journal of French Studies vol. 2, 1965, pp. 157-70.
- Strohm, Paul. "Guillaume as Narrator and Lover in the Roman de la Rose". R.R. vol. 59, 1968, pp. 3-9.
- Sturm, Sara. "The Bel Inconnu's enchantress and the interest of Renaut de Beaujeu". F.R. vol. 44, 1970-71, pp. 862-69.
- Sturm, Sara. "The love interest in the Bel Inconnu: Innovation in the 'roman courtois'". F. M. L. S. vol. VII, 1971, pp. 241-48.
- Sturm, Sara. "Magic in the Bel Inconnu". L'Esprit Créateur vol. XII, 1, Spring 1972, pp. 19-25.
- Suard, Francois. "Place et signification de l'episode Blanchefleur dans le Conte du Graal de Chrétien de Troyes". Mélanges de langue et de litt. méd. offerts à Pierre le Gentil. Paris: Sedes, 1973.
- Thacker, Christopher. The History of Gardens. London: Groom Helm, 1979.
- Thoss, Dagmar. Studien zum locus amoenus im Mittelalter. Wien: Stuttgart: Wilhelm Braumüller, cop., 1972, (Wiener romantische arbeiten; 10).
- Tuchman, Barbara W. A Distant Mirror: the calamitous 14th century. London: MacMillan, 1979.
- Tuve, Rosemond. Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books & their Posterity. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton U.P., (1966) 1974.
- *Uitti, Karl D. Story, myth & celebration in old French narrative poetry 1050-1200. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton U.P., 1973.
- Urwin, Kenneth. "The Setting of Aucassin et Nicolette". M. L. R. vol. XXXI, 1936, pp. 403-05.
- Utley, Francis L. "Must We Abandon the Concept of Courtly Love". M. et H. no. 3, 1972, pp. 299-325.

- "La Vie Paysanne au Moyen Age". La Documentation Photographique, no. 6007, 1973.
- Villiers-Stuart, C.M. Spanish Gardens: their history types and features. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1929.
- Vinaver, Eugene. "La foret de Morois". C.C.M., vol. 11, 1968, pp. 1-13.
- van Hamel, A.G. "Cliges et Tristan". Rom. vol. XXXIII, 1904, pp. 465-89.
- Waddell, Helan. The Desert Fathers. Trans. from the Latin with an intro. London & Glasgow: Collins, (1936) 1962.
- Waddell, Helan. Medieval Latin Lyrics. London: Constable & Co. Ltd., (1929) 1930.
- Waddell, Helan. The Wandering Scholars. London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1927.
- Warren, F.M. "A Byzantine Source for Guillaume de Lorris Roman de la Rose". P. M. L. A. vol. XXXI, n.s. XXIV, pp. 232-46.
- Webster, K. G. T. "The Waterbridge in Chretien's Charette". M. L. R. vol. XXVI, 1931, pp. 69-73.
- Weston, Jessie L. From Ritual to Romance. (C. U. P., 1920) New York: Anchor Books, 1957.
- *Wethered, H.N. A Short History of Gardens. London: Methuen & Co., 1933.
- Wiebenson, Dora. The Picturesque Garden in France. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton U.P., 1978.
- Wilbur, Donald N. Persian Gardens & Garden Pavilions. Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle, 1962.
- Wilhelm, James J. Cruellest Month: spring, nature and love in classical medieval lyrics. Newhaven: Yale Univ. Press, 1965.
- Wittkower, Rudolf. Allegory & Migration of Symbols. London: Thames & Hudson, 1977. Boulder, California: Westview Press, 1977.
- Wright, Thos. Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores or Chronicles & Memorials of Great Britian & Ireland during the Middle Ages. Vols. 1 & 2. London: Longman & Co., 1872.
- Zenophon. Hellenica & Anabasis I & II. English trans. by Carleton L. Brownson. Loeb Classical Library. London: Wm. Heinemann Ltd., 1961.
- Zumthor, Paul. Essai de poétique médiévale. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1972.
- Zumthor, Paul. Parler du Moyen Age. Ed. de Minuit, Coll. Critique, 1980.

.